The Cult of St Petroc in Cornwall and Brittany
c. 550 to c. 1250

by

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In the twelfth century the relics of an early medieval Cornish saint, Petroc, were stolen from his main foundation at Bodmin (Cornwall), taken to the abbey of Saint-Méen in Brittany, and subsequently retrieved, partly through the agency of the Angevin king, Henry II and Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter. At least one contemporary chronicler, Roger de Hoveden, recorded the event. In addition, a fully-developed hagiographical narrative, also contemporary with the theft, commemorated and appropriately embellished the incident. Through the lens of this text, the thesis investigates the cult of St Petroc in both Cornwall and Brittany, both before and slightly after the theft. These two regions are associated for much of their history through shared language and a similar geographical and political situation on the periphery of larger political and cultural entities; the cult of this saint, both before and after the theft of relics, illuminates the similarities and dissimilarities in their ecclesiastical, religious, cultural, and political histories.

This transmission of St Petroc's cult, assisted greatly by a network of associated saints and churches, shows on the one hand the homogeneity of Cornish and Breton society. The relics themselves are clearly instrumental in the popularisation of St Petroc's cult in both Cornwall and Brittany, and were venerated in each area. Yet these relics were probably not responsible for the transmission of this Cornish cult to Brittany. On the other hand, the manifestations of St Petroc's cult are quite different in the two areas under consideration, even in the medieval period. The theft incident usefully contrasts the two areas, and sheds valuable light upon the policies of Henry II, newly in control of the Breton duchy, towards

this Continental possession.

The theft text, although written securely within the conventions of hagiography, is also clearly intended as a historical account. This blending of genres produces a fascinatingly tangled account of Breton and Cornish intrigue and political manoeuvring.

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List of Abbreviations

AASS: Acta Sanctorum ex latinis et graecis aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis. Paris: Victor Palmé, 1863-75 and continuing.

BHL: [Bollandists]. Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. 2 vols. Brussels: np, 1898-1901. Supplement, 1911; Novum supplementum, ed. Henricus Fros, 1986.

DNB: Stephen, Leslie, and Sidney Lee, eds. Dictionary of National Biography from the Earliest Times to 1900. Reissued edition. 21 vols. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1908-09.

"Vies": "Vies et miracles de S. Petroc." Ed. P Grosjean. Analecta Bollandiana LXXIV (1956), pp. 131-188, 471-496.

PR 31 Henry I: Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii vel Magnum Rotulum Pipae de anno tricesimo-primo regni Henrici Primi. Ed. Joseph Hunter. London: PRO, 1833.

PR [regnal year, king]: all other Pipe Rolls.

Several were published by the Record Commission:

The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the Second, Third, and Fourth Years of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158. Ed. Joseph Hunter. London: Record Commission, 1844.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the First Year of the Reign of King Richard I, A.D. 1188-1189. Ed. Joseph Hunter. London: Record Commission, 1844.

Later, the Pipe Roll Society was formed and is currently engaged in publishing the rest (under various named and unnamed editors):

The Great Rolls of the Pipe. The Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vols. 1+. London: Pipe Roll Society, 1884+

Introduction

St Petroc was, for most of the middle ages, the paramount saint of Cornwall. His cult extended over a relatively large area in the very locally-organised landscape of Cornish saints. His priory was, by contrast with other Cornish houses, extremely wealthy. Either because of this status, or because of the vicissitudes of the survival of texts, he is one of the few Cornish saints to possess abundant accounts of his life and career.

This thesis has as its main object of investigation the cult of St Petroc, from its beginnings (*c.* 550) to just after the late-twelfth-century theft of the saint's relics from Bodmin priory and their restoration. While it focuses on this theft, both the incident itself and the resulting hagiographical narrative, it is not confined to this event. Rather, the theft acts as a hinge for several themes and queries: overall the thesis concerns this cult, the religious and ecclesiastical history of medieval Cornwall and Brittany, and the place of these in the wider historical sphere.

Thus one concern of the thesis is the investigation of Cornwall and Brittany as an area of common culture, and the significance of this commonality both for St Petroc's cult and for the post-Conquest assembly of territories controlled by the kings of England. The consistent contact between Cornwall and Brittany (and between other areas bordering on the sea) forms an essential background to this thesis, and is amply illustrated in the history of St Petroc's cult. Indeed, if E.G. Bowen's view of the important role of the movement of a saint or his or

her disciples in the creation of a sphere of cult resembles Doble's "unsophisticated use of dedication-evidence to deduce the saints' actual movements,"[1] Bowen's contention that these areas bordering on the sea were deeply connected over a long period of time has not been discredited or superseded.[2] Although this thesis concentrates on Cornwall and Brittany, one might (and should) include Spain, Ireland, and Wales as part of this background.

Another concern is the transmission of cult between these culturally similar areas, and the place of relics within this Breton and Cornish commonality. As Celtic hagiographical investigation has moved beyond a conception of the spread of the cult of a saint as a result of the travels of this saint or his or her disciples, a second method of transmission of cult, the translation of relics, is invoked. Julia Smith has stressed the primacy of relics in the establishment of new cults in medieval Brittany. Yet in the case of St Petroc, this extension of cult from the place of its origin, Cornwall, to a distinct (if similar) area, Brittany, had been accomplished for the most part before the relics appeared in the peninsula.

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[1] Olson 1989, p. 6; see, for example, Bowen 1977, p. 72. In 1951 Grosjean reviewed Bowen's methodology, and criticised his acceptance of "l'hypothèse, aujourd'hui assez générale" which viewed the dedications of churches as a mark of their origin, and the assumption that the saint or his or her immediate disciples were responsible for this spread of cult (1951, p. 423). Bowen's introduction to his later work, Saints, Seaways, and Settlements, seemed to disclaim his original view, asserting that the dedications of churches mark only a saint's *patria*, "a specific territory in which a revival of the saint's cult might have taken place many times and over many centuries" (1977, p. v). Yet he asserted confidently that within these areas the "intrusive influences [of rival cults] can easily be detected" within the apparently original and otherwise unaffected spheres of influence of the various saints (1977, pp. v-vi). Indeed, his discussion of St Petroc places that saint among the relatively insignificant *peregrini* whose cults were not likely to be revived (1977, pp. 69-72). His implications, that the spread of these cults occurred during or soon after the lifetime of these saints and that the dedications of churches to these saints can be attributed to this short period of influence, contradict his introductory disclaimer. Ultimately, he points to dedications to a group of saints, including St Petroc, which show that "either these saints themselves, or some of their immediate followers (desirous of honouring their names) did use the sea-routes, linking Ireland, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany to propagate their cults" (1977, p. 71).

[2] Bowen 1977, *passim*.

Finally, the theft raises the issue of the significance of St Petroc to the larger world of English history and politics: the theft attracts the attention and considerable might of Henry II. Indeed, Henry II can be seen to seize upon St Petroc and the links between Cornwall and Brittany as a means of exercising his authority over the often restive Breton peninsula. The account of the theft of St Petroc's relics, after careful and detailed consideration of the historical context and examination of independent accounts, can be assessed not only for its historical accuracy (which is in some matters considerable), but for the interpretation which it struggles (often visibly) to advance. The text uses Henry II to advance St Petroc's cause just as Henry II used St Petroc to advance his cause. Not surprisingly, this juncture between the text's clear desire to present a mostly clear and visibly 'historical' account and its pervasive hagiographical agenda can be profitably explored.

Chapter I examines the theft narrative in detail, attending to the text's accuracy of detail concerning the events themselves as well as to those aspects of the text which are less plausible, and contrasting these two aspects of the narrative. Chapters II and III examine this cult in Cornwall and Brittany respectively. The text repeatedly asserts that St Petroc, although of primary importance to Cornwall, was scarcely known either within or outside the county. Yet Chapter II's investigation into the Cornish cult shows that St Petroc was indeed already of great significance throughout Cornwall. Chapter III examines the arrival of Petroc's cult in Brittany, ultimately concluding that the cult had arrived in the Breton peninsula before the theft of the relics, although the author of the theft text may not have known this. Chapters IV and V are more specifically linked to the theft itself: Chapter IV examines the political and ecclesiastical significance of Bodmin priory (especially at the period of the theft), and also assesses St Petroc's fame in England. Chapter V investigates, in some detail, the relative positions of Cornwall and Brittany in the Norman and Angevin empires, ultimately

concentrating on Henry II and his son Geoffroy. Chapter VI revisits the theft account in the light of this investigation, and re-examines the position and craft of the Bodmin canon's contribution to St Petroc's cult, the *De reliquiarum furto*.

A few details of the thesis extend beyond its temporal limits. The dearth of evidence for my period of Cornish ecclesiastical and political history has necessitated such excursions, from which I have extrapolated much information about this earlier period from later records.

Chapter I: The Theft Text

Introduction

The furtive translation of St Petroc's relics from Cornwall to Brittany highlights the shared cultural milieu of the two areas, as well as providing yet another example of what must have been continuing and significant contact across the Channel. The shared linguistic heritage and the cultural connections between Cornwall and Brittany have long been accepted and viewed as essential to the understanding of these regions in the Middle Ages.[1] The role of maritime contact, including that for the purpose of trade, is increasingly studied as a phenomenon which not only complemented this medieval commonality[2] but significantly preceded it.[3] The twelfth-century theft and retrieval of St Petroc's relics, which forms the

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[1] For example, speaking of Geoffroy of Monmouth's interest in Cornwall and Brittany, Oliver Padel commented: "In any case, an interest in either Cornwall or Brittany necessarily entails an interest in the other, since the two have always been so closely linked by their common language and history" (1984, p. 16).

[2] Fleuriot 1969 and 1984. The most recent investigation of this contact is Jonathan M. Wooding, Communication and Commerce along the Western Sealanes, AD 400-800 (BAR International Series, 1996, forthcoming).

[3] Pierre Giot has described the Channel, and the North, Irish, and Celtic Seas as the "Mediterranean of the North" ("Introduction," in Macready and Thompson 1984, p. 1). See also the other essays in this volume (Macready and Thompson 1984) for the pre-medieval evidence of this contact. A trade (especially in Cornish tin) has been used to explain the very origins of the otherwise obscure Cornish *Cornovii*: see Charles Thomas (1966) for the argument that the Armorican Venetic traders could be viewed as the bringers of the cultural innovations (mostly promontory fortresses) which characterised the Cornish *Cornovii*; but see Cunliffe 1982 and Duval 1984, pp. 85-6 for a different view of these traders and hillforts.

focus of the thesis both as an object of investigation in itself and as a lens through which the larger cult can be viewed, is examined against this background of contact and influence between Cornwall and Brittany. This episode illustrates some of the similarities (and dissimilarities) in the ecclesiastical, religious, and cultural histories of these regions.

This chapter introduces the texts under investigation, the hagiographical narratives which make up the dossier of St Petroc. One in particular, the hagiographical account of the theft and retrieval of St Petroc's relics, is examined against a limited background of historical context for two purposes. First, some of the concerns and preoccupations of the author, as a historian and hagiographer, are examined. Second, these concerns are used to frame questions which will form the subject of the further examination of the thesis.

Texts and Manuscripts

Although the canons of St Petroc at Bodmin seem to have been responsible for the creation of a hagiographical dossier for the saint, the various texts of Petroc's dossier survive exclusively in non-Cornish manuscripts. What is clearly an earlier Life of Petroc, the *Vita [I] Petroci* (henceforth referred to as the Saint-Méen Life),[4] is found in a sixteenth-century Obituary of the abbey of Saint-Méen (Ille-et-Vilaine) in Brittany.[5] Grosjean, however, points out that a copy of this Life must have existed in Britain not only when the second Life was composed, but also in the fourteenth century when John of Tynemouth made an abridgement

[4] BHL 6639; Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 948. The text was edited by Grosjean, "Vies," pp. 487-496.

[5] Paris, BN ms. lat 9889. "Vies," p. 470; see Chapter III, pages 135ff, for this manuscript. Other copies, none of which are complete, are found in manuscripts from Saint-Méen and Saint-Gildas-des-Bois (Loire-Atlantique) and range in date from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century ("Vies," pp. 470-471).

of the text.[6] The Latin of the Saint-Méen Life suggests to Grosjean composition in Wales or Cornwall a generation on either side of the Norman Conquest.[7]

The fourteenth-century Gotha manuscript contains the rest of Petroc's dossier.[8] Grosjean argues that the *Vita [II] Petroci* (henceforth referred to as the Gotha Life),[9] a Metrical *Vita*,[10] a series of *Miracula*,[11] and the account of the theft of Petroc's relics (*De reliquiarum furto*, henceforth referred to as *De furto* or the theft text)[12] contained within the manuscript date from the twelfth century, according to the internal evidence of the dossier.[13] The genealogy[14] which concludes the dossier is more difficult to date, although it may contain a place-name form which predates the early thirteenth century.[15] The metrical Life is

[6] BHL 6640; "Vies," p. 471.

[7] "Vies," p. 478 (Grosjean lists some of the stylistic characteristics on pp. 474-478). François Kerlouégan attributes the Saint-Méen Life to eleventh-century Brittany (1972-73, p. 284) for no apparent reason; Bernard Merdrignac notes this without endorsement (1985-86, t. I, p. 69).

[8] Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Mm.I.81. The manuscript has been dated to the first ("Vies," p. 135) or the second (Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, p. 37) half of the fourteenth century.

[9] BHL 6640b; Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 110. The text was edited by Grosjean: "Vies," pp. 145-65.

[10] BHL 6640c. Edited by Grosjean: "Vies," pp. 166-71.

[11] BHL 6640d. Edited by Grosjean: "Vies," pp. 171-4.

[12] BHL 6640e. Edited by Grosjean: "Vies," pp. 174-88.

[13] "Vies," pp. 135-136. Olson, presumably following Grosjean, dates the Life to the second half of the twelfth century (Olson 1989, p. 67); however the Life is dated to the fourteenth century in an article co-authored by Olson and Padel (Olson and Padel 1986, p. 53). Yet the article in question concerns the various forms and spellings of saints' names; one could read this dating as applying only to the manuscript. Ann Preston-Jones also dates the Life to the fourteenth century, presumably based on this source (1992, p. 120).

[14] Edited by Grosjean: "Vies," p. 188.

[15] "Vies," p. 188; see also Olson 1989, p. 69, n. 81.

based directly on the Gotha prose Life and shows common misreadings.[16] Because the author of the metrical Life names as the instigator of the work a Roger who is assumed to be the prior of Bodmin who recovered the relics of the saint in 1177 (as related by the theft narrative), one can date the metrical Life to his lifetime, and the prose Life to some time before this.[17] In addition, the *Miracula*, which Grosjean dates between 1157 and 1177 because of their content, may have been written by the same author as the Life.[18] Curiously, the Gotha prose Life seems to have had little or no lasting effect on much of the hagiographical history of St Petroc; most accounts of the saint (such as that found in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*)[19] are derived from John of Tynemouth's abridgement of the Saint-Méen Life.[20]

The *De reliquiarum furto*

The first sentence of the *De furto* names the author, "canonicus quidam de Bothminia, scilicet Robertus de Tantona," whose name Grosjean reads as Robert of Tawton.[21] A preface of sorts in the first chapter introduces Robert as the author, a certain Martin as the thief, and the relics as the focus of the narrative. Then begins a summary of the events of the narrative,

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[16] "Vies," p. 136. The Metrical Life will not be discussed.

[17] "Vies," p. 136.

[18] "Vies," p. 136.

[19] AASS, June I, pp. 392-3; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 133.

[20] Jankulak 1994 *passim*.

[21] Grosjean notes the scribe's notorious carelessness, and suggests that the manuscript reading *de Tantona* probably represents one of two Tawtons in Devon near the Cornish border. A possible if less likely identification is Taunton in Somerset ("Vies," p. 137, n. 1). Doble argues for North Tawton in Devon as the site in question (1939, p. 403).

in which one possible moral implication of the theft is introduced: Martin's actions, although conceived and performed by him, are presented as a punishment of the sins of the Bodmin foundation. The text then briefly mentions Martin's removal of the relics into Brittany and their disclosure there.

The summary continues into the second chapter, where it increases in detail until it has developed, almost imperceptibly, into a comprehensive account. The chapter relates the unusual manner through which the theft is made known to the monks of Bodmin in whose care the relics had resided: reports of the miracles worked by the relics in Brittany come to be known at Bodmin; only then is the theft discovered there. The chapter traces the tortuous path which the report of these miracles follows: the news comes from Brittany, first through popular report to the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel,[22] then to his monks in England, who relate the matter, almost by chance, to Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter. Bartholomew then asks Roger, the prior of Bodmin, who happens to be visiting on account of some other matter, about the theft, but the prior knows nothing of the matter. Bartholomew then sends four heads of Cornish and Devonshire houses to Bodmin to investigate.[23] Only then is the loss made known at its source.

The latter part of the second chapter is then occupied with scripturally-based interpretation of the theft, in which the words of Eliphaz the Temanite, seeking to console Job with the assurance that God ultimately rewards virtue and punishes wickedness, feature

[22] This would be the chronicler Robert de Torigny who appears again in ch. 13 ("Vies," p. 183, n. 1).

[23] These include the abbot of Hartland ("abbas Sancti Nectani"). See Chapter V, pages 260ff, for the connection between Hartland and the Dinan family.

prominently: *Nihil fit in terra sine causa* (Job 5,6).[24] The citation is especially appropriate in a narrative of a theft of relics, raising issues of the possibility of good arising from evil, the possibility of hidden things being made manifest, and the vanity of attempting to discern God's plan. The narrator embroiders on these themes in the last sentences of the second chapter, ending with a pointed contrast between Petroc's meagre fame before the theft and his fame afterwards. This interpretation, one of many possible justifications, will become the chief, although not the sole, interpretive tool employed by the author of the text.[25]

The narrator seems to recognise how far his summary has strayed from its desired brief and introductory character, for he opens the third chapter apologetically, admitting the digression and promising to return to what is still the proposed narrative. Clearly, the narrative itself has not yet formally begun. Yet what has the introductory material accomplished? It has provided an outline of events, to be expanded upon and interpreted. It has removed from the hearer the necessity of devoting the greatest part of his attention to matters of story or plot, at least in terms of where the relics were and where they went. It has introduced what is ostensibly the principal theme of the narrative: God and the saint have allowed the theft partially in order to punish Bodmin priory, but chiefly in order to increase the reputation of the saint.

Yet in effect, if not in intention, the summary has emphasised the roundabout fashion in which the news of the theft has travelled, including the somewhat backward route from Brittany to Bodmin via Exeter. This detailed information does not appear again in the text; where it would be chronologically suitable the author mostly omits it. What is on the surface

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[24] This is the Vulgate version.

[25] Chapter VI re-examines this interpretive scheme in the light of the historical circumstances of the theft and text.

an outline of what is to follow (one which admittedly digresses into a detailed account), is actually the full and sole appearance of this information. The narrator has restructured the narrative so that this one portion appears outside of its chronological sequence, that is, at the very beginning of the text.

This rearrangement seems distinctly odd. Why should an otherwise logically (and chronologically) ordered text jump so far ahead of itself? The beginning of such a text would more conventionally be occupied by a prologue of some sort, which could offer suitable introductory material, perhaps various pious reflections on the nature of the saint, the community, the relics, and the relationship between these. Such an introduction is by no means found in all hagiographical texts, but is common to many. As the prologue would logically appear at the beginning of a text, one wonders here whether the so-called 'summary' of the first two chapters is meant to fulfil a similar function or at least possess a similar significance. The summary does fulfil one of the functions of a prologue: it introduces the model by which the events to be narrated are to be understood. Yet this interpretive device is tied to a narrative whose implications and even relevance are somewhat unclear.

The third chapter recommences the narrative, introducing the reader more fully to the culprit, Martin, 'our brother in name only'. The narrator describes Martin as "sacrilegus et demone plenus,"[26] a description which is at once not yet appropriate (the narrative has not yet reached the theft) and justified (Martin was named as the thief in the first chapter). At this point in the retraced chronological scheme, Martin, successfully masquerading as one of the brethren, is merely indifferent to the religious life. Martin is not able to avoid exile and

[26] Nicole Herrmann-Mascard notes that the condemnation of the theft of relics as a sacrilege is only clearly visible by the thirteenth century, although a theft which desecrated an altar was so described in the twelfth century (1975, p. 394).

punishment for his indifference: he is sent to and recalled from Newton, the foundation's *villa* in Devon,[27] and subjected to discipline. Here the narrator waxes indignant, turning a straightforward description of events into an angry polemic against Martin: Martin's removal of the relics begins as a fit of petulance, and ends as demonically-inspired evil.[28] Ultimately Martin's plan, as given by the author at the end of the third chapter, is that the foundation at Bodmin, deprived of its patron saint, should be entirely destroyed.[29]

The fourth chapter, which concerns the theft itself, does not, in fact, describe the removal of the relics: the narrator merely states that the opportunity to remove the relics was 'sought and found.'[30] The reader is not even told from where the relics were removed, merely that Martin took St Petroc's body 'from the case where he knew it to have been previously placed by Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter.'[31] The author then notes Martin's passage to Brittany, presumably through Cornwall and across the Channel, although the detail is extremely sparse. Here the narrative moves swiftly, slowing only when Martin reaches the church of Saint-Magloire de Lehon.[32] Martin's purposes are still hidden at Saint-Magloire, and he is lodged under false pretences. A light from the sky, however, reveals the presence of

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[27] Newton St Petrock ("Vies," p. 176, n. 3); see Chapter IV, pages 220ff.

[28] There is some clumsy hyperbole and word play here: the idea of taking St Petroc's relics is "<s>celus pre aliis <s>celeribus <s>celestius."

[29] "... ut ecclesia nostra, patrono suo sic destituta, penitus destrueretur."

[30] "Quesita ... et inventa opportunitate ..."

[31] "... prefatum corpus de teca, ubi noverat illud per manus Bartholomei episcopi Exoniensis prius reconditum, surripuit ..." There is no record of Bartholomew having handled St Petroc's relics before the theft, although he had been present at Bodmin in 1171 for a diocesan synod (Morey 1937, p. 42). See below, page 33, for the shrine.

[32] The site is named in the text as *ecclesiam Sancti Maglorii* ("Vies," p. 176, n. 6). This abbey was founded on stolen relics, a fact which the Life of its patron saint related with considerable pride (see Chapter VI, note 49).

the relics; presumably this is St Petroc exerting his will concerning his remains. This light provokes some wonderment, but does not lead to the discovery of the thief. Martin feels compelled to flee in the morning, but since the theft is as yet undiscovered he is unmolested in his flight.

Martin leaves Saint-Magloire with a specific destination: he hires a horse to go to Saint-Méen. Yet the text offers no precision concerning the reasoning behind this choice, nor does the narrator speculate upon the possibility that Saint-Méen is merely another stop along the way. Martin's journey is presented as a conscious,[33] deliberate, and yet not explicitly planned action. A sense of foreordination pervades this section of the narrative. Such a spirit is, of course, not inappropriate in a narrative of events which are essentially directed by God and the saint. Martin, however, is presented both as the instigator of the theft and also as merely an instrument of controlling forces, both heavenly and demonic. Only a cursory justification for Martin's actions is provided by the author: Martin easily slides from human disgruntlement to demonic evil. Similarly, the path of Martin's journey is implicitly both capricious and predetermined, with Martin's own role in this ambiguously presented. There is no explicit explanation for the path of the relics' journey, although the text gives a more detailed itinerary than that for the journey to Brittany.

The fifth chapter describes Martin's journey to and reception at Saint-Méen. On the way, Martin's horse refuses to cross a ford, at Cagarun,[34] while he carries the relics. This probably occurs at Margarou, a village about three kilometres north of Saint-Méen where the

[33] Indeed, the text uses the phrase *sibi conscius* (ch. 4) or *conscius sibi* (ch. 5) twice in speaking of Martin and his journey.

[34] According to Grosjean, the name of the ford, *Cargarnu*, to be read *Cagarun*, indicates the river Garun, although the first element is obscure ("Vies," p. 177, n. 1).

Roman road crossed the River Garun.[35] Martin, once more "conscius sibi," understands that God is punishing him, not, we are told, for the theft itself but for the irreverent manner in which he is carrying the relics. He is forced to dismount, to carry the relics across himself, and to return for the horse, which will now carry the sobered and contemplative Martin. This episode seems to fulfil the requirement that the relics make their presence and will known to Martin and others.[36] Yet although the relics hinder Martin's passage, they do not prevent it.

Martin arrives safely at the monastery of Saint-Méen, and awaits dinner with the other guests. When Martin and his guide leave to eat, the boys who serve in the guest-house examine his sack. One boy opens the sack, removes a rib, and handles it in jest with his companions. The boys are suitably punished: their hands swell and their arms stiffen. The monks, once informed by the boys of this miracle, immediately direct their suspicions to the possibility of a theft of relics. They question Martin carefully about the reason for his journey and about the identity of the bones. Martin, in his fear, confesses at once. The abbot[37] and other important clerics are summoned to hear Martin's admission that he is carrying the relics of the most holy Petroc ("corpus sanctissimi Petroci"), to which, lest they doubt him, he swears an oath. The abbot orders a solemn procession to bear the relics from the guest-house to the church, and at once arranges for water to be touched by the relics and kept in the

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[35] "Vies," p. 177, n. 1; Carte de France, 1:50 000. Saint-Méen-le-Grand (1992). Martin seems to be following the Roman road which ran south from Corseul to Rieux (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 80, fig. 14; Eveillard 1975, p. 121, fig. 19; Banéat 1973, vol. 4, p. 38; Gaultier du Mottay 1869, p. 108) and intersected near Saint-Méen (Eveillard 1975, p. 44) with a central trunk road connecting Rennes with Carhaix, itself running just south of Saint-Méen (Eveillard 1975, p. 45; Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 82).

[36] Geary 1990, pp. 113-14.

[37] This would seem to be Robert II, abbot of Saint-Méen from 1163 to 1192 ("Vies," p. 480, n. 6; Guillotin de Corson 1880-86, vol. II, p. 130; Paris, BN ms. franç. 22358, f. 28v).

church to heal the sick. Aside from the miracle of the afflicted boys, the church needs only Martin's oath concerning the identity of the relics to venerate and use them in their church. Moreover, it is apparent that the name of Petroc is, at least at Saint-Méen, not unknown. This, at least, is how the author of the text presents the situation. Here he contradicts his statement that the theft was necessary to make Petroc known throughout and beyond Cornwall.

The sixth chapter requires some close examination, for here the account of the relic theft moves beyond the more established lines of other relic theft accounts, in which relics are stolen, transported, discovered, and either returned or integrated into their new residence. This account, by contrast, now involves itself heavily in Breton-Angevin politics. This may be due in part to historical circumstances, for certainly there are real political issues raised by the theft and retrieval of the relics. Yet this chapter, which ostensibly presents only Martin's own agenda (a 'plot' concerning St Petroc's relics suggested by Martin to Roland de Dinan), seems unnecessary and intrusive. Not only is it not historically plausible,[38] it is not at all essential or even useful to the theft as a hagiographical narrative: it confuses and even contradicts the stated interpretive framework which depends on the previous obscurity of St Petroc. What follows in the sixth chapter is extraneous and perhaps excessive detail. Significantly, this chapter, which superficially contributes to the unfolding of plot and events, could be removed without any break in the narrative.

The author attempts to circumvent the obvious difficulty of the 'plot' by presenting what follows as a logical unfolding of Martin's apparently confused agenda. Martin, 'seeing himself detected in many ways,'[39] turns to Roland de Dinan (Henry II's justiciar of

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[38] See Chapter VI, *passim.*

[39] "... videns se multis modis esse deprehensum ..."

Brittany), we are told, in an attempt to save himself. Here the narrator presents himself not only as privy to what passes between Martin and Roland, but also as aware of Martin's very thoughts. He attributes to Martin layer upon layer of duplicity as Martin, with dubious probity, presents Roland with a complicated and unlikely political agenda. Roland de Dinan's involvement at some point in the matter is indisputable, and he is accurately presented in the text as the chief civil power in Brittany and *vicecomes* of Henry II's son Geoffrey, *dux* or *comes* of Brittany. Martin offers the presence of Petroc's relics in Brittany (*not*, it should be noted, the relics themselves) to Roland first as a means of increasing Geoffrey's power in Brittany and second as a means of acquiring Cornwall for Geoffrey.[40] Martin seems to be linking power over Brittany to power over Cornwall and working from a much deeper agenda than previously suggested. The details of the plot will be examined in another chapter;[41] for the current reading of the text the significance of the plot is its premise that Petroc symbolises Cornwall and, by extension, its insistence on the importance of Petroc to the Angevin king.

Yet this new view of the theft conflicts with the narrator's main rationalisation of the whole process: that the theft occurred so that a little-known saint could gain his proper fame. Surely any political significance which Petroc's relics might command would be based on his renown. Yet it is difficult to assess the significance of the author's apparent inconsistency. Martin's lengthy, complex, yet seemingly spontaneous revelation could have been included merely to show Martin's duplicity. Perhaps it was intended as ironic commentary on Petroc's

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[40] "[Martinus] satagit persuadere [Rolando] sese in Britanniam sanctorum principem Cornubie secum attulisse ad com<m>odum et ad cumulum honoris domini sui, comitis Britannie, eo quod Cornubia iuris eiusdem comitis esset et ideo principem sanctorum patrie illius, sanctum videlicet Petrocum, in dicione prefati comitis, apud Sanctum Mevennum, venerabiliter com<m>endasse, asserens magno opere, si corpus istud sanctissimi confessoris caute et diligenter custodiretur, quod tota Cornubia in proximo comitatui Britannie domini sui, filii regis Anglie, subiceretur."

[41] Chapter VI, *passim*.

fame or lack thereof. Neither explanation is entirely convincing, for this chapter in many ways dominates the theft narrative, in effect replacing the author's previously stated interpretive model. Yet the narrator immediately proceeds to undermine the plausibility of this episode.

The narrator, who is able to discern and describe God and Petroc's greater plan (when he wishes), is noncommittal concerning Martin's intentions and probity. Martin, the narrator tells us, is able to conceal his deviousness and to feign simplicity in the pursuit of his wicked scheme. While the narrator is presumed to be able to read Martin's plan accurately as it unfolds in all its complexity, the matter is further complicated by the narrator's apparent inability to confirm the reality of the plot, either in actuality or in Martin's mind. The narrator's circumlocutions about Martin's sincerity do not necessarily clarify even his own view of Martin's plan; his assertion that Martin sought to persuade ("satagit persuadere") Roland of a new and different agenda can possibly be read as mere distrust of the sacrilegious Martin.

Having presented this plan as genuinely offered to Roland by Martin, even as an opportunistic device to gain refuge, the narrator again implicitly questions the reality of the plot: he again comments that Martin 'wickedly strove to persuade [Roland] of this' ("nequiter persuadere conabatur"). Neither the author, nor, apparently, Martin endorses the plan. Moreover, we are told nothing of Roland's reaction, either negative or positive, to Martin's exertions. The impression conveyed is that Roland, who as the chief civil power in Brittany must be able to judge its merits, at the very least is considering it.

The narrator's characterisation of Martin then changes somewhat. Martin is no longer overwhelmingly dominated by self interest: we are told that Martin's desire to avoid capture is outweighed by his desire to maintain the relics in Brittany (for whatever reason) in the

interests of justice. Immediately after this, however, the narrator continues, not entirely clarifying the issue: '[Martin], however, wickedly strove to suggest this not because anything concerned him, nor [because] he cared about the welfare of that country, but as a thief and a sacrilegious [person, he did this] in order to alienate those relics perpetually from our church.'[42] This corrects any impression which the contorted plot might have given concerning Martin's greater agenda (to join Cornwall and Brittany under the proper lordship of Geoffrey). Martin has now moved from being a spiteful malcontent, to acting as an agent of larger issues of political authority, unity and justice; he then reverts to the status of personally-motivated criminal. Martin's supposed involvement in a larger political or even 'national' struggle has been discarded; his ultimate purpose is restated as the alienation of the relics from the foundation at Bodmin. This both allows the plot to stand uncontradicted (its possibility haunts the rest of the narrative) and shows Martin to be no more than an opportunistic liar motivated by personal spite.

The chapter ends with a biblically based supplement to the phrase cited from Job in the second chapter: 'But [there is] no reason, nor comprehension, nor plan against the Lord.'[43] Martin's plan, or lack thereof, is firmly established as irrelevant; the result of his actions is the main point. The text then cryptically sums up, "De hiis hactenus," and clumsily leaves what has become a digression: "Ad sequencia redeamus." These phrases, which

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[42] "Hec autem suggerere nequiter studuit, non quod ad eum pertineret quicquam, vel de salute patrie illius curaret, sed, cum esset fur et sacrilegius, ut hac astucia reliquias istas ab ecclesia nostra in perpetuum alienaret."

[43] "Sed nec ratio, nec studium, nec cogitacio contra Dominum." Grosjean believes that this is a paraphrase or an unknown translation of a verse of the Vulgate Proverbs 21, 30: "Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum" ("Vies," p. 179, n. 3). This citation appears in the late ninth- or early tenth-century Breton *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* in its Vulgate form (The Monks of Redon, p. 123, ch. I.5).

resemble stage directions in their brevity and mechanical character, end the chapter.

The seventh chapter opens with the spreading fame of the relics through the miracles worked at Saint-Méen by water sanctified by contact with the relics. Three chapters then relate such miracles. These chapters form a discernible group of generic miracles which are short and lack individual detail. The sick, including the boys afflicted by handling the relics, are healed, a demoniac is delivered, and a sick boy, unable to live or die, is eased into death.

The tenth chapter opens, as does the seventh, with the spreading news of the relics. The detailed channel of information given in the second chapter, through popular report in Brittany to the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, then to his monks in England, then to Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, is omitted as the reader is merely told that the rumour is made known first to the bishop of Exeter and through him to the community at Bodmin. This part of the narrative also omits the embarrassing detail of Bartholomew's questioning of prior of Bodmin about the theft (when the prior had admitted knowing nothing of the matter). The narrator then picks up the story after the events described in the second chapter. The Bodmin community sends one of their number, John, to Brittany to locate the relics and then send news of the matter to their prior, who is at the king's court. This accords with the account in the second chapter, in which Bartholomew's questioning of the prior before the discovery of the theft had occurred while the prior was at Exeter on his way to the king's court. The prior and convent of Bodmin then send another of their members, Adam, to the bishop to make known their actions and beg him to enlist the help of the king and nobles of England.

The eleventh chapter shows bishop Bartholomew enlisting the help of many of his

powerful close friends, especially Richard de Lucy[44] and Walter of Coutances, the *sigillarius* of the king.[45] These three go to the king and ask that Henry send a letter to Brittany, 'which was then under his dominion,'[46] ordering the return of the relics. Henry accedes to the petition of the group and orders Walter to send his writs to the 'prelates and nobles and ministers of Brittany,' instructing whoever holds the relics to return them.[47] In addition, the king offers to send his own messenger to Brittany with the prior to extend these instructions *viva voce*.[48] While still in London, Walter happens upon a cripple selling an appropriately constructed ivory shrine and purchases it to use as a housing for the relics once they are recovered. Having consulted with the bishop, the prior, and the members of the Bodmin foundation, Walter orders the writing of a message which has been agreed upon by the council. The prior, having received letters from the king, the king's son Geoffrey, Richard,

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[44] Richard de Lucy (who held several Cornish manors, including Lantyan held in demesne; Padel 1983, p. 91) was the chief justiciar of England from 1153-1179, from 1168 the sole holder of this post, and at times viceroy. In 1179 he retired to the Augustinian abbey of Westwood, which he had founded in 1178 (DNB, vol. 12, pp. 246-7; "Vies," pp. 180-1, n. 3).

[45] Walter of Coutances, keeper of the Great Seal under Henry II, and chancellor of England in fact if not in name ("Vies," p. 181, n. 1; Delisle 1909-27, Introduction, pp. 108-9), and thus "effective head of the royal chancery," was said to have been Cornish by birth (DNB, vol. 4, p. 1276; Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, p. 266). His appointment as archbishop of Rouen in 1184 over the choice of the Rouen chapter was the result of Henry's intervention (Walker 1982, p. 224). In 1177 Walter was especially active in Henry's service: he was sent to Flanders as an envoy and then as an ambassador to the court of Louis VII (Delisle 1909-27, Introduction, p. 111; DNB, vol. 4, p. 1276).

[46] below, note 83.

[47] As *de facto* chancellor and keeper of the Great Seal, Walter has it in his power to issue and authenticate writs, as well as to influence the ordering of such items (Mortimer 1989, pp. 121, 131).

[48] "... ascito rex predicto Waltero, sigillario suo, precepit ut, ad com<m>odum negocii prioris Bothminie, prelatis Britannie et principibus et ministris scriptis suis preciperet ut, ubicumque in patria sua reliquie iste invenirentur, incunctanter redderentur, adiciens quod cum priore nuncium suum transmitteret, qui viva voce preciperet quod scriptis suis mandaret."

archbishop of Canterbury, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, and Walter of Coutances, departs with the king's messenger and with the shrine which has been prepared, the narrator is careful to inform us, at Walter's own expense.

This chapter overflows with names, letters, writs, councils, and orders. The narrator is at pains to present a detailed account of a united, concerted, and official effort by the secular and religious leaders of England on behalf of St Petroc. This suggests that the author might be familiar with how such a business might have been transacted, or might have access to this information; in any case he is clearly at pains to present a plausible description of correct procedure judiciously and swiftly invoked.

The twelfth chapter opens with a very brief description of the journey across the Channel: the prior has favourable winds for his journey. This, of course, is in contrast to the lack of information concerning Martin's maritime travels. The prior arrives in Coutances, where, the narrator is again at pains to inform the reader, he is lodged at Walter's expense. Although the party does not follow the shortest route to Saint-Méen, Coutances would be a logical landing-site for several reasons. An overland route into Brittany via the Bay of Mont-Saint-Michel begins at Coutances, and perhaps the retrieval party wished to avoid the Rance estuary and Dinan. Coutances is also linked with Bodmin's most active protector in this matter, Walter of Coutances. Moreover, Bodmin priory had in the past been linked with Coutances: a former prior of Bodmin, under whom the house had been transformed into an Augustinian priory in the early twelfth century, subsequently had become bishop of Coutances.[49] The retrieval party, as will become clear, is following an at times circuitous route which is determined by factors superseding a presumed desire to visit the relics as soon

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[49] "Vies," p. 144. See Chapter IV, page 199, for Algar and the substitution of orders at Bodmin.

as possible; the beginning of the journey at Coutances is but the first example of this.

In Coutances the prior's servant miraculously, or at least coincidentally, runs into the brother John, whom the prior had sent into Brittany to seek the relics and about whom the prior is very anxious. The prior also enlists the help of a lord Richard, a canon of Coutances and relative of Walter,[50] who promises to lead the group to Saint-Méen.

The thirteenth chapter sees the party arrive at Mont-Saint-Michel, where they are well received. The reader is told that the abbot,[51] although ill, receives the writ of the king concerning the relics and sends a monk, Robert, with the party. The party begins a very circuitous route into Brittany, going from Coutances to Mont-Saint-Michel, which is just opposite the Couesnon estuary, and then backwards again to Avranches.[52] Here the narrative becomes less precise concerning their travels: after their departure from Mont Saint-Michel the text notes only that the party visited the archbishop-elect of Dol (this would be at Avranches),[53] and other 'prelates and nobles' to whom, the text notes, the party distributed the orders which the king had sent.[54] Finally, the text continues, they arrived at Dinan.

The party, following the Roman road system (as Martin also seems to have done),[55]

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[50] This Richard is unknown.

[51] See above, note 22.

[52] See Map 6. The text does not explicitly mention Avranches, but notes that the party visits the bishop-elect of Dol who was at this time in Avranches ("Vies," p. 183, n. 2).

[53] See Chapter V, page 303, for Roland III of Dol. Roland's presence at Avranches is not surprising, as he was then dean of Avranches; his election occurred only after these events in November 1177 (The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni, pp. 275-6).

[54] "... per Dolensem electum et alios prelatos et principes ad quos rex Anglie precepta suo super reliquiis istis transmiserat, transeuntes, porrecto unicuique quod sibi fuit ex parte regis transmissum ..."

[55] "Vies," pp. 183-184, n. 5.

has not taken the most direct route from England to Saint-Méen. Martin would seem to have entered Brittany at the Rance estuary, either by water to Dinan (or, more precisely, to the nearby Saint-Magloire de Lehon) or by land from Saint-Malo and thence to Lehon.[56] The retrieval party has ignored the roads near the Rance, and another road just south of Mont Saint-Michel, to land or at least begin their Continental journey at Coutances. As this is a significant detour, their presence at Coutances suggests some profit to be had there, most likely connected with Walter of Coutances. Their subsequent visit to Mont Saint-Michel might or might not fall into the same category: it lies on the road from Coutances to Brittany (and so is more or less on their route), but a visit there would probably also be useful in gaining the attention and support of the abbot of this powerful religious house which itself had significant cross-Channel ties, especially in Cornwall.[57] The subsequent journey from Mont Saint-Michel to Avranches, however, clearly represents a departure from a direct route, taking the party not towards Saint-Méen but away from it, into Normandy.[58] Yet at precisely this point the text leaves the detailed account of travels and merely mentions visiting of various significant prelates and nobles. One suspects that the author's desire to present an abundance of detail has been subordinated to other concerns.

These other concerns become more visible as the text at this point begins to resemble those saints' lives constructed on the pattern of an *itinerarium*, a tour performed by the saint

[56] Eveillard 1975, p. 121, fig. 19, shows Roman roads running from Saint-Malo and from Dinan to meet the east-west road to Rennes or Jublains. Aumasson (1987, p. 61) shows the road system on the banks of the Rance.

[57] Matthew 1966, *passim*.

[58] Eveillard 1975, p. 120, fig. 19.

which in part serves to delimit or justify an area of authority for the saint or his cult.[59] The little party from Bodmin seeking the relics of their saint wanders around not only parts of Brittany but also parts of Normandy, distributing the orders of the king, and also, as the narrator indicates, allowing the king's messenger the opportunity to repeat his own oral orders. In short they make felt, even in such a small matter, the presence of the king's authority to lay and cleric. After this somewhat digressive episode, the text returns to the visiting of specific, named, places and the pursuit of specific, named, people. However, according to the text, the party's most important quarry, Roland de Dinan, is also their most elusive.

As the theft text again picks up its detailed account of named sites which the party visits, their course becomes once more direct and focused. The party arrives in Dinan, the text states, but they cannot find Roland, and spend the night there. Here the change from vague itinerary to almost petty detail is striking: after the party leaves Dinan they traverse the *castellum* of Lehon (which is where Martin's first lodging, the church of Saint-Magloire, is located), and lodge in a *rus* named Calna (modern Caulnes).[60] At this point the author not only names sites merely traversed, but even names the site of their lodging, in this case a small and obscure *rus*. When the party arrives at the church of Saint-Méen they find that they must stay in the town, as the monks will not offer them hospitality.

As the choice of road would have been rather restricted, the retrieval party has probably been retracing Martin's own route from their departure from Dinan. Caulnes is along

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[59] Picard 1985, p. 80. The *itinerarium* structure, however, is deployed in the *De furto* in some quite significantly different ways; see below, page 40 and Chapter VI, *passim*.

[60] "Vies," pp. 183-184, n. 5.

this Roman road,[61] about nineteen kilometres south of Dinan and about nine kilometres north of Margarou, where Martin's horse refused to carry him. As the text describes the travels of the retrieval party, it becomes increasingly obvious that whatever detail the text has offered concerning Martin's own journey occurs where the retrieval party's route has coincided with Martin's own path. This, combined with the text's (perhaps understandable) reticence concerning the actual removal of the relics from Bodmin and the generic appearance of miracles worked at Saint-Méen, suggests strongly that the author is someone with direct information concerning the retrieval of the relics (perhaps from personal experience) but without a significant source for events not directly experienced by the Bodmin community.

The fourteenth chapter begins with the entry of the party into the church at Saint-Méen. Their presence there is immediately made known to the community and the town through the presence of a helmet-shaped globe of fire which descends upon the church. This is similar to the light which had exposed Martin and the relics at Saint-Magloire; the reader is expected to see in such events the saint's own handiwork. In this case, however, the tactic backfires somewhat, as the globe alerts the suspicious monks of Saint-Méen to the presence of the rescuers. The party, having again conferred among themselves, returns to Dinan (at this point the narrator gives the date, the eve of Pentecost).[62] They lose members, the monk Robert returning to Mont-Saint-Michel and canon Richard returning to Coutances, although these departures are not explained. The monks of Bodmin wait in Dinan until they are able to make known their presence to Roland de Dinan.

The narrator now presents Roland in a somewhat different light from his first

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[61] "Vies," pp. 183-4, n. 5.

[62] Grosjean has identified this as Saturday, June 11, 1177 ("Vies," p. 184, n. 1).

appearance in the sixth chapter. According to the narrative's description of him thus far (the account of his supposed meeting with Martin), Roland should have been aware of the theft and its implications; thus the initial inability of the retrieval party to find him implies a guilty complicity or at least awareness. Yet here, the author disingenuously presents Roland as unwittingly oblivious to the presence of the party and their possession of orders from the king. Even the phrasing of the narrator's description of the party's second arrival in Dinan (they are 'waiting to make their presence known to Roland'),[63] supports this novel interpretation. Roland, the text states, now learns of 'that news' ("verbum istud"), presumably the theft, and of the presence of the search party in Brittany through an entirely independent source: a messenger whom he had sent to Henry in England in transaction of regular business informs him of these events. The arrangement or proposed arrangement between Martin and Roland of the sixth chapter is not referred to by the author; it is neither foiled nor brought to fruition, but merely ignored.

At this point the helpful Roland de Dinan sends for Geoffrey of Montfort,[64]

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[63] "Dinam itaque reversi, in pace et quiete perhendinati sunt, usque dum domino Rollando ubi esse<n>t certificarent."

[64] Geoffroy of Montfort was the great-grandson of Raoul de Gaël, one of several Bretons prominent in pre-Conquest England; Raoul's son Raoul II (earl of East Anglia), known as Raoul II de Gaël or de Montfort, revolted in 1075 and was forced to flee to Brittany (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 182; Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 167); he is thought to have despoiled the abbey of Saint-Méen and to have been excommunicated for this (Sibold 1983, p. 257; Guillotin de Corson 1880-86, vol. II, p. 129). Raoul's son William, Geoffroy's father, inherited his father's barony of Montfort-Gaël. Several charters and confirmations cite William as the founder of the Augustinian abbey of St James at Montfort. William and his sons Raoul and Geoffroy endowed the abbey of Saint-Jacques de Montfort in 1152 and installed canons from Saint-Melaine de Rennes (Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 613-15, 821-2; Hauréau 1856, col. 1025; Sibold 1983, p. 257). Geoffroy, "Junior filius Guillelmi Domini Monfortensis primum imposuit lapidem ad construendum ejusdem Ecclesiae fundamentum" (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 615); this must be the Geoffroy of the *De furto*. These Montforts (currently the Breton town is known as Montfort-sur-Meu) should not be confused with those from the Montfort near Paris.

counsellor and lord ("advocatus ... et dominus") to the monks of Saint-Méen,[65] and confers with him at Saint-Méen, seeking a way to settle the matter. The prior of Bodmin, meanwhile, hears of Roland's presence at Saint-Méen and enlists the help of the abbot of Saint-Magloire[66] in delivering the orders of the king to Roland. After all their trouble, the narrator dryly comments that they accomplish this 'having sought the opportunity' ("quesita opor[illegible]nitate"). Hearing the orders (ostensibly for the first time), Roland and Geoffrey hospitably receive and entertain the Cornishmen.

In the fifteenth chapter, Roland and Geoffrey send the party (including the abbot of Saint-Magloire) to the abbot and community of Saint-Méen with the king's orders. At this point the narrator, perhaps anxious that the narrative is becoming hindered by detail, perhaps to mark a decisive moment, signals his desire to abbreviate what follows: after a "quid plura," he notes that 'many disputes and quarrels' ensue due to the recalcitrance of the monks of Saint-Méen.[67] Finally, however, before the abbot of Saint-Magloire and nobles including Roland and Geoffrey of Montfort, the abbot and sacristan swear the necessary oaths that the relics, now placed on their highest altar, are the same, unchanged and undiminished, that they had received from Martin. The party approaches, examines the relics, and recognises them 'by

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[65] This is not surprising, as the two abbeys, Saint-Méen and Montfort, are in the same district and can be expected to have had reasonably close ties from the foundation of Montfort. Indeed, a martyrology (Paris, BN ms. lat. n. acq. 429) of the mid-twelfth century, around the period of Montfort's foundation, does not include many prominent Breton saints but does include St Méen (Duine 1922, no. XIII).

[66] A Durand, abbot of Saint-Magloire, is listed as a witness to an agreement, *c.* 1170, between the abbey of Saint-Melaine de Rennes and the abbey of Beaulieu which in part concerns Roland de Dinan, founder of Beaulieu ("Vies," p. 184, n. 3; Mémoires, vol. I, col. 701; Hauréau 1856, col. 1018). See also Chapter V, page 283.

[67] "Quid plura? Post multas contenciones et lites, nolentes illud reddere, posuerunt corpus sanctissimi confessoris et patris nostri Petroci super maius altare ..."

many signs' ("multis indiciis"), lest there be any doubt of their ability to know the relics of their patron saint. In addition, the ivory shrine is miraculously found to be perfectly fitted to the relics, a circumstance which indicate the satisfaction of God and the saint at the course of events. Not to be left out, Roland de Dinan orders that the relics be brought to Henry with Roland's own letter, and sends letters patent to the foundation at Bodmin.[68] Roland's actions inspire remorse (or, as the cynically-minded might suspect, self-preservation) in the monks of Saint-Méen, who confess to the party that the relics had performed fourteen miracles in their church. The luckless Martin, however, is omitted from this scene of reconciliation and return, his ultimate fate a mystery. The author of the theft text has apparently lost interest in Martin, and he does not appear in the narrative after the sixth chapter; indeed he is not even mentioned again except in the admission of the monks of Saint-Méen that they posses relics stolen by him.

The sixteenth chapter explicitly abbreviates the account of the joyful return to England.[69] Once again, the narrator displays no interest in the journey itself, merely stating that the relics are successfully enclosed in the shrine, and that the Bodmin canons carefully arrange their return route to coincide with that of the barons (presumably Roland and Geoffroy). They encounter no obstacle, but experience several processions in the many places traversed. The only place mentioned by name is Winchester, where the party meets Walter, who is here given the titles of counsellor and protector of the party, and (as always) *sigillarius* of the king.

[68] "... accessit dominus Rollandus de Dinam et maxima cum reverencia reliquias illas ita inclusas priori Bothminie ad regem Anglie cum litteris suis specialibus impres<s>is deferandas com<m>endavit. Deinde, in testimonium rei geste, in posterum litteras suas patentes duraturas ecclesie Bothminie transmisit."

[69] "Deinceps, ne singulis immoremur ..."

The seventeenth chapter opens with the arrival of Henry II at Winchester, where Walter of Coutances arranges a meeting between the king and the retrieval party. The party, bearing the relics, presents the letters of Roland and of the other Breton nobles to the king before his court. Having read the letters, Henry orders the shrine to be opened. The timing is propitious: many nobles and priests are gathered for a council[70] and all are present at the crucial opening of the shrine. The entire court, including the king, honours the relics. The bishop of Exeter blesses Henry with the head of the saint, whereupon the king, having considered the relics for a short time, retains three joints and a rib, having, the narrator carefully explains, humbly sought permission from the prior of Bodmin and from Bartholomew.[71] Henry sends the rib in a silver shrine to Saint-Méen and offers a precious cloth in which to enclose the remaining relics.

Thus each person or foundation which has come into contact with the relics has benefitted, except perhaps for Martin. The narrator does not comment upon the opinion of the monks of Bodmin, who will see the return of relics slightly diminished in quantity; the relics have perhaps been augmented in quality (as they have attracted the attention of the highest lay and religious nobles) or perhaps not (they have, after all, been for a time severed from their safe custody).

The eighteenth chapter begins the detailed account of the festive ritual procession of the return of the relics. The prior of Bodmin and his companions receive the blessings of the

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[70] Robert Eyton notes that Henry is at Winchester for about a month in the latter half of July and the first part of August, where Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, witnesses one of his charters (1878, p. 218; Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, pp. 177-178).

[71] "... licencia humiliter ab episcopo Exonie et a priore Bothminie impetrata, tres iuncturas sibi retinuit et costam unam, quam in vase argenteo honorifice reclusit et ad Sanctum Mevennum transmisit."

archbishop of Canterbury and of the other bishops and proceed as far as Exeter. There they install the relics in the custody of the Cathedral to await the arrival of Bartholomew who will, as has been arranged, accompany the relics to Cornwall. The populace attends the procession out of the city, where they receive the bishop's blessing. Bartholomew accompanies the relics to Launceston, just across the River Tamar into Cornwall, where the relic procession is received with vigils and prayers.

The nineteenth chapter opens with another procession, as the prior and populace of Launceston accompany the relics out of the town. The bishop blesses the people at a specified turning point and continues to Bodmin with the party. Here they are met by a solemn procession from Bodmin, consisting of the 'populace and nobles of almost the whole of Cornwall.' When the procession reaches the church Bartholomew presents a summary of events and promises to show the relics and install them in the church the next day. This promise to reintegrate the relics into the community, with fitting authority and ritual ("ut decebat," as the text comments) is received with rejoicing.

The twentieth and penultimate chapter describes this reintegration. Once mass has been celebrated and the people are gathered the bishop displays the relics, very carefully showing each part of them to the assembly. He also orders the letters patent of Henry II, Roland de Dinan, and of the other Breton nobles to be read to assure the assembly that there has been no trickery or removal of the relics. Bartholomew then preaches a sermon and rearranges the relics: he places the head, its adjacent bones, and 'certain fragments' in the ivory shrine, and the rest in a gilded shrine. This he does 'in the presence of himself and of the whole assembly.' Finally, he relaxes penance for those present and those who would appear there in honour of the saint until the feast of All Saints. He further remits penance for those who might attend the annual celebration of this feast (and its octave) in perpetuity. The twenty-

first and final chapter formally gives the date of the reintegration (15 September) and ends with a doxology.

Historical and hagiographical aspects of the Theft text

Two contradictory aspects of the theft text are immediately striking. The text is at once perceptibly concerned with the appearance of historical accuracy, but is also rife with hagiographical topoi. Moreover, the larger interpretive structures which it invokes are at times confusing and even inconsistent. While a detailed discussion of these larger interpretive structures can only be intelligible at the end of the examination which comprises the thesis, some of the minor items and issues can here be profitably explored.

Those portions of the theft text which are securely 'historical' are, first of all, those which can be verified by recourse to an independent account. Of all the chroniclers of Henry's reign, only Roger de Hoveden, in both his *Chronica* and the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, included an account of the theft of the relics. Both versions are, not surprisingly, much briefer than that of the *De furto*. Roger's account in the *Chronica* merely relates that a canon of Bodmin, Martin, stole St Petroc's body and brought it to Saint-Méen, that Roger, the prior, discovered the theft and visited Henry II seeking his assistance, that Henry sent Roland de Dinan to Saint-Méen to implement orders of restitution (by force if necessary), and that the community of Saint-Méen restored the relics promptly for fear of Henry, swearing oaths to the integrity of the relics.[72] The *Gesta Regis* gives fuller information, some of which contradicts the *Chronica*: according to this account the community at Saint-Méen initially

[72] BHL 6640g. Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden, vol. II, p. 136; The Annals of Roger de Hoveden, vol. I, p. 457.

refused to turn over the relics, even when Roland went 'with armed and powerful force.'[73] Only when Roland threatened them did they agree to hand over the relics.[74] The *Gesta*'s account is more precise with dates than that of the *Chronica*: the theft occurred, we are told, in January;[75] and the relics were returned on June 19.[76] This version also mentions the ivory shrine, and gives a brief account of the ceremony at Winchester. The information presented by Roger in both accounts accords with that given by the *De furto*, with the exception of the 'plot' of the sixth chapter.

Another piece of evidence would seem to corroborate part of the narrative of the *De furto*; that is the shrine itself. The account in the *De furto* of the relics and their shrine is somewhat contorted: it was miraculously found and purchased by Walter of Coutances (ch. 11), filled with all of St Petroc's relics at Saint-Méen (ch. 15), and opened at Winchester, where some of the relics were extracted and put into a silver shrine for Saint-Méen, others wrapped in a cloth donated by Henry II and replaced in the shrine (ch. 17). Finally, the relics were again rearranged by Bartholomew at Bodmin, who put the head and its bones in the ivory shrine and others in a gilded shrine (ch. 20). The ivory shrine has a subsequent (if

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[73] BHL 6640f. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, pp. 178-80.

[74] "... praedictus Rollandus venit cum armata manu et potenti ad abbatiam Sancti Mevenni, et praecipit corpus illud reddi; quod cum abbas et monachi ejusdem loci reddere nollent, ipse minas addidit, jurans se per vim, nisi celerius redderetur, extrahere velle illud" (Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, p. 179).

[75] "... statim post Epiphaniam Domini ..." (Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, p. 178).

[76] The *De furto* notes that the prior and the retrieval party initially arrive at Saint-Méen on June 11, the vigil of Pentecost ("Vies," p. 184, n. 1); Roger's account dates the actual retrieval to the close of Pentecost (Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, p. 179).

suspect) history[77] and is still extant:[78] its date and provenance, twelfth-century Norman Italy,[79] seem appropriate; the rarity of such items in England makes it plausibly the shrine of the theft account.[80]

The gilded shrine ("theca magna deaurata"), which appears somewhat unexpectedly at the restoration of the relics to Bodmin (ch. 20), is now unknown, although various boxes with relics appear in an "Inventory of the Goods of the Church delivered over to the Churchwardens [of Bodmin] A.D. 1539."[81] Should this gilded shrine be seen as the shrine mentioned in the *Miracula*, in which the relics were presumably kept before the theft?[82] However, the shrine of the *De furto* is described only as gilded, whereas that of the *Miracula* was apparently highly decorated and even inscribed. Yet another shrine has appeared in the *De furto*: the extremely cursory description of Martin's removal of the relics notes that he

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[77] The last record of the shrine appears in Leland's *Itineraries* (The Itinerary of John Leland, vol. I, p. 180) in the sixteenth century; the account of its 'rediscovery' (empty of relics) in the nineteenth century is somewhat strang[illegible] [illegible]nder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, pp. 262-64).

[78] One strange episode occurred ju[illegible] [illegible]e year ago: the ivory shrine was stolen (along with several items of lesser value) from Bodmin parish church late August 31 or early September 1, 1994 (Western Morning News, 2 September, 1994). One account implied, with great distress, that not only the shrine but also the relics had been taken (Cornish Guardian (Bodmin), 8 September, 1994). The shrine, having been "away exactly 40 days" according to the team rector of Bodmin parish, was found in a rural area of South Yorkshire October 8 by an unnamed woman (Western Morning News, 12 October, 1994) while out walking; the other stolen items were not recovered (Cornish Guardian, 20 October, 1994). I thank Oliver Padel and Anna Tyacke of the Royal Cornwall Museum for sending newspaper accounts from Cornwall.

[79] Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, *passim*.

[80] Christopher Brooke concludes, "it is impossible to be certain that the subject of this paper is St Petroc's reliquary. But ... if it were the case that this is not the box ... we are the victims of a coincidence of Dickensian proportions" (Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, p. 264).

[81] [Wallis 1838], p. 41.

[82] See Chapter II, page 55.

withdrew St Petroc's body from the case or tomb ("teca [theca]") where Bartholomew had placed it (ch. 4). It is possible that the *teca* of the fourth chapter is also the *theca magna deaurata* of the twentieth, and that both are intended to represent that of the *Miracula*. Thus, possibly, the relics of St Petroc were kept at least from the early twelfth century in a gilded shrine, and possibly after the theft this container held most of the relics, with the head and several other bones placed in the ivory shrine.

Yet in the matter of the shrines the theft text contradicts itself, for the significance of the ivory shrine rests partly in its miraculous appearance at a critical juncture (before the retrieval journey, ch. 11) and mainly in its exact suitability in size as a container for all the relics (ch. 15). The expectation is that this shrine is intended to hold all the relics, now and henceforth. Here, the author has played not only with possible historical fact, but also with the facts as set out by his own narrative, in the interests of hagiographical convention.

Before we look at some of the other hagiographical conventions invoked by the author, it will be useful to assess other historical aspects of the text, and investigate its authorship. Grosjean dates the text 1177 x 1179, arguing that some phrases which do not suit this period are interpolations.[83] Grosjean further suggests that the *De furto* may have been composed by an eyewitness to some of the events described,[84] and the extremely detailed account of the journey of retrieval certainly supports this. Where the author names those

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[83] These 'interpolations' include the description of Brittany as 'then under [Henry II's] dominion' (ch. 11) and the description of Walter of Coutances as 'afterwards archbishop of Rouen' (ch. 11). The former phrase, presenting Henry's dominion over Brittany as in the past, would be true only by 1186 by the earliest according to Grosjean; the latter could be added only after Walter's translation to Rouen at the end of 1184 ("Vies," pp. 140-141). One might quibble with Grosjean's description of Henry II as lord of Brittany until 1186 (see Chapter V, pages 289ff), but certainly Henry was still lord of Brittany until at least 1181.

[84] "Vies," p. 137.

involved his information coincides with Roger de Hoveden's account. The dates given by the author accord with those provided by Roger. None of this information, however, would have been obscure or difficult to obtain. Yet the plethora of named characters is impressive. Not only are Bartholomew of Exeter, Walter of Coutances, Richard de Lucy, and Roland de Dinan named and presented in their appropriate administrative roles, but several minor characters are also named: the Bodmin canons, John and Adam, sent on various errands (ch. 10), Robert, a monk of Mont Saint-Michel (ch. 13), lord Richard, a canon of Coutances and relative of Walter (ch. 12), and Geoffroy of Montfort, the advisor of Saint-Méen (ch. 14). Some of these are integral to the narrative flow, others are insignificant; almost all are impossible to verify.

Other characters appear without names. The four heads of local religious houses sent to Bodmin to investigate the theft are merely described with their titles, although the title, abbot or prior, given to each is appropriate (ch. 2). More puzzling is the unnamed abbot of Mont Saint-Michel, who appears twice in a significant role (chs. 2 and 13). The abbot of Mont Saint-Michel at the time was, of course, Henry II's chronicler Robert de Torigny, who, for all his interest in Breton affairs (especially those involving Henry),[85] does not mention the theft in his *Chronicle*. Perhaps the theft text's comment that the unnamed abbot was ill could explain not only, as Grosjean suggests, the extreme brevity of the *Chronicle* for this period,[86] but also the apparent unfamiliarity of the author of the *De furto* with this noted abbot. Yet the theft text clearly states that Robert met the retrieval party, and sent one of his monks, also named Robert, with them (ch. 13). Other abbots are also not named: the abbot of Saint-Magloire, whose role in the retrieval, although unclear, is stressed by the narrator (ch.

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[85] Shopkow 1984. [illegible] 1-22.

[86] "Vies," p. 183.

15) and who merits a description as 'a prudent and learned man' (ch. 14) is not named; the abbot of Saint-Méen, presumably a key personage in the disputes concerning the restitution of the relics, is likewise unnamed (chs. 5 and 15). These partial omissions are puzzling, if not insurmountably so.

Other omissions may also help to identify the author, if they do not merely represent areas in which the author has no interest or items which were not deemed conducive to the intention of the text. The author either knows or tells little about the theft and flight itself, but is well informed about the events of the retrieval. Events occurring on the Continent which are not directly experienced by the retrieval party are either omitted or generically presented (such as the miracles performed by the relics at Saint-Méen). Julia Smith has suggested that "a written account may have been returned to Bodmin with the relics;"[87] there is little or no trace of such information in the theft text as we have it.[88] These factors combine to support the attribution, at the beginning of the *De furto*, of the narrative to 'Robert of Tawton, a certain canon of Bodmin.'[89]

This view of the author's omissions, however, accepts the essential historicity of the text and attributes lacunae to a lack of information and a desire to include only verifiable or at least plausible material. But are these omissions a reflection of the author's 'historical' integrity or merely an indication that his interests lie elsewhere? Hagiographical conventions and topoi are, not surprisingly, scattered throughout the text. Perhaps equally unsurprising is

[87] Smith 1990, p. 316.

[88] Smith's example of the precision of the miracle of discovery of the relics at Saint-Méen, the paralysing and subsequent curing of the boys who had touched the relics, is indeed the only 'precise' information in the text which could not directly impinge on the experience of the text's author or informant. See also the use of *ut ferunt* about events occurring at Saint-Méen (ch. 5).

[89] The author also is aware that Bodmin priory has a *villa* at Newton St Petrock (ch. 3).

their tendency to appear where the author seems to lack information: the light shining on the relics at Saint-Magloire which propels Martin further on to Saint-Méen (ch. 4); the paralysis of the boys at Saint-Méen which leads to the discovery of the relics (ch. 5); the healing of these boys and others which convinces the monks of Saint-Méen of the powers of these relics (chs. 7-9); the miraculous purchase of the ivory shrine (ch. 11) and discovery that it is just the right size for the relics (ch. 15) which, among other things, shows where St Petroc's sympathy lies; and the globe of fire which alerts the community of Saint-Méen to the presence of the retrieval party, forcing the latter to return to Dinan and obtain the assistance of Roland de Dinan (ch. 14).[90]

The miraculous refusal of Martin's horse to cross the ford of Cagarun while carrying the relics (ch. 5) is somewhat more complex. It is clearly a hagiographical convention, illustrating St Petroc's disapproval of the theft by his hindrance of it. Yet here the author provides the name of the ford, the only instance of any detail concerning Martin's itinerary. As suggested above,[91] this episode occurs well after the path of the retrieval party has joined that taken by Martin; it is not unreasonable to believe that the author of the *De furto* has embellished his account of Martin's flight with information garnered from the experiences of the retrieval party. The point of the ford miracle is not the ford nor its name, but the miracle; yet the provision of the name of the ford enhances the credibility of the account, both in its hagiographical and historical aspect.

This type of account, which serves both a hagiographical and historical purpose, is

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[90] Herrmann-Mascard, more interested in the history of relics than in the forms of their hagiographical accounts, notes that accounts of failed thefts, especially, resort to what she terms 'legendary materials;' these serve to illustrate the powerful will of the saint and include the relics hindering the thief's passage, and burning with a brilliant light (1975, p. 366).

[91] above, page 25.

even more subtly and effectively deployed in the account of the retrieval party's initial travels on the Continent (ch. 13). The account of visiting, which is at once vague (concerning which places are visited) and specific (concerning the rank of those visited and the purpose of these visits) is framed by the account of visits to specific people and places. The historical information and the hagiographically-directed material are successfully integrated, and the chapter serves the two purposes unobtrusively. Other episodes can be seen to serve these two purposes, without, however, necessitating such a visible integration. The ceremony of reinstallation before the king (ch. 17), with its examination of relics, reading of letters patent, and blessing of the king with the relics is both historically plausible (indeed, it is mentioned by Roger de Hoveden)[92] and hagiographically appropriate in a *translatio*. The continuation of the ritual of reintegration, the journey from London to Bodmin with its stops at Exeter and Launceston, with its processions, singing of hymns, sermons, blessings, vigils, as well as the arrival at Bodmin and the celebration of masses, exhibition of the relics, reading of letters, and granting of indulgences, similarly advances both a historical and hagiographical agenda. Henry II's retention of a portion of the relics possibly falls into this category: historically, Henry may well have wished to keep some of St Petroc's relics for his own purposes, although the evidence that he did do so is contradictory;[93] his interest in St Petroc's relics could not but enhance the saint's reputation.

One final preoccupation of the author is perhaps not so fortuitous a combination of historical and hagiographical utility: this is the very process of retrieval. While the author has shown little interest in the process of removal, he is very interested in the cooperation

[92] Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, p. 180.

[93] See Chapter V, pages 300ff.

involved in the mechanism of return, and in the very networks by which this cooperation is invoked.[94] The author is careful to indicate, at various places, that action occurs only after deliberate consultation between the interested parties. Walter of Coutances consults with Bartholomew, the prior of Bodmin, and the Bodmin community before instructing scribes to write the letters ordered by the king (ch. 11). Even then, the scribes are to write 'that which was selected by their counsel' ("quod eorum consilio eligebatur"). Upon the hostile reception of the party from Bodmin at Saint-Méen, the prior confers ("consilio inito") with his companions (ch. 14). Roland, in the same chapter, consults with Geoffrey of Montfort. Even Henry II asks permission of the Bodmin community before removing relics for himself and for the community of Saint-Méen (ch. 17), although this may seem an empty gesture.

Some of the characters who make an appearance to assist in the retrieval of the relics do not seem to perform any discernible function, but are important symbols of cooperation and assistance. Richard, a canon of Coutances and a relative of Walter, joins the party (ch. 12) as does Robert, a monk of Mont-Saint-Michel (ch. 13); these men soon leave the party (ch. 14) without having visibly contributed to its efforts. The abbot of Saint-Magloire-de-Lehon is clearly significant to the return of the relics, although we are not told exactly how or why. Even the instrumental Walter of Coutances is subject to extra stress: the narrator obsessively gives Walter's title almost every time he is mentioned. He appears four times in the eleventh chapter, each time as Walter ... the *sigillarius* of the king; twice in the twelfth chapter, once with his title and once by his name alone; once in the sixteenth chapter with his title; and only in the seventeenth chapter by his name alone. This stress on Walter's position as keeper of the seal is complemented by the author's explicit mention, wherever appropriate,

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[94] This may explain the unusual prominence of the process by which the information of the theft is brought to Bodmin in the first two chapters.

ts.[95] Wherever possible, we are reminded of the amiable, official, and documented

)peration of those concerned in the retrieval of the relics.

In a similar vein, the relationships between foundations and protectors seems a matter of fascination to the author of the text; this interest complements some of the above-mentioned hagiographical interests of the text. The attention paid to proper procedure within this world of patronage and within its various networks of authority comes to full fruition with the description of the many rituals of return, which are an integral part of the theft narrative, both in its historical and hagiographical aspects.

itinerarium of the retrieval party (ch. 13) also shows an interest in ecclesiastical

mental coo[illegible]ration and patronage. Although a wide range of sites are visited, the

el is not the author's main point. These sites exist within a network of

l and political interests, each with its own rituals. Indeed, in this episode, the

[illegible] deeply portentous visiting of sites by the living saint of the *itinerarium* structure

if a sub-genre of the *vita sancti*)[96] obviously does not literally occur, for the narrative

oncerns a saint long dead. The equivalent, in a *translatio* or *furtum*, would presumably be an *itinerarium* of the relics of the saint.[97] However the *De furto* ignores, for the most part, the travels of the relics and concentrates on the travels of the retrieval party, mostly before they acquire the relics. The retrieval party is still spreading the fame and perhaps cult of St Petroc,

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[95] See Van Caenegem 1959, pp. 169, n. 1 and p. 189.

[96] Picard 1985, pp. 80-81.

[97] Relics could also be taken on tours in order to raise money. In the early twelfth century, for example, the canons of Laon toured southwest England with the relics of their church (Tatlock 1933, *passim*). See also the eleventh-century *delatio* performed in Flanders by the monks of Lobbes and intended not only to raise money but also to persuade the count of Flanders to restore lost estates (Koziol 1992, pp. 240-2).

but this is done specifically within a world of secular and ecclesiastical political structures. It is as if the travels concerned are not intended to enhance St Petroc's reputation so much as that of the party of officials seeking the relics. One might even suggest that the chief beneficiary of this travelling is not even Bodmin priory but Henry II.[98] The author of the *De furto* combines a historical and hagiographical agenda in this episode, but does so in such a way as to highlight his own rather peculiar interests; these interests can, at such points, be seen to coincide, in a striking way, with those of Henry II.

Conclusion

The impression, so far, of the theft text, is of a mostly historical or historically-based account supplemented with hagiographical commonplaces which do not do violence to the plausible recounting of events. The anchoring of the narrative in a very specific place and time, and the stress on the contemporaneity of the account contribute to this impression. Yet this is perhaps misleading: the text begins by partially stating its interpretive framework, which is firmly rooted in a hagiographical agenda:

> The body of the most holy confessor of Christ and our patron, Petroc, sacrilegiously pilfered and removed into a foreign region, as our sins required ... as it pleased God and his holy confessor, was revealed by miracles and, with its sanctity proved, was exalted with greatest honour and lodged with much reverence (ch. 1).[99]

Thus the theft punishes the sins of Bodmin priory. Later this interpretive model is expanded: the theft occurred so that St Petroc's fame, meagre even in Cornwall, would spread far

[98] See Chapter VI.

[99] "Sanctissimi confessoris Christi et patroni nostri Petroci corpus sacrilegio surreptum et in regionem exteram delatum, peccatis nostris exigentibus ... sicut Deo placuit et sanctissimo eius confessori miraculis est revelatum et, eius sanctitate experta, maximo cum honore exaltatum et multiplici reverencia collocatum."

beyond 'among kings and princes' (ch. 2). While there are stock justifications for successful or unsuccessful relic thefts, which, in Geary's words, "evidently are *topoi* that owe little to the concrete situation in which the thefts occurred" and do not need to coincide with reality,[100] the author has interwoven several strange strands into his larger interpretive framework. These strands are themselves connected: one is Martin's motives and character; another is the role of Roland de Dinan and, implicitly, Geoffrey, Henry II's son; another is the reputation of St Petroc, within Cornwall, outside Cornwall, and among kings, before and during the theft. Looming over this network of interconnected concerns is the figure of Henry II.

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[100] Geary 1990, p. 117.

Chapter II: The Cult of St Petroc in Cornwall

Introduction

The cult of St Petroc was a significant presence in the medieval Cornish landscape, both ecclesiastical and secular, beginning perhaps as early as the sixth century. However, this cult is most visible from the tenth century onwards--not surprisingly as much of the documentation concerning medieval Cornwall begins only then. Therefore, in order both to present a survey of the cult's significance through the Middle Ages in Cornwall and to prepare a background for what little can be plausibly said of the origins of the cult, this chapter moves chronologically backwards, beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the production of the extensive dossier of St Petroc.

The *Vitae Petroci*

The Gotha Life of St Petroc is longer than the earlier Saint-Méen Life and includes a prologue in which the author introduces himself as a monk in retirement. The author defends himself and his work rather vehemently against anticipated charges of deceit or arrogance, and protests that he was prompted to write the Life by another of the brethren. He hints darkly (in somewhat contorted Latin) at a previous attempt to rewrite ancient documents which had been given up due to the absurdity of the information contained within these. The author, however, assures the reader that he has re-edited the material found in "antiquis

librariis," and, moreover, has presented them in a more elevated literary style. He reveals also that he has inserted at the end of the narrative some things which he heard as a boy, and those heard from witnesses, including one named Radulphus Montis Acuti (of whom there is no trace).[1] These things, Grosjean argues, must in fact be the *Miracula* which appear in the dossier after the Metrical Life and before the theft narrative.[2] Finally, the author castigates his predecessors for omitting, "through laziness, and, may I not say, ignorance" many matters which "seemed worthy of annals" and ends the prologue.[3]

Aside from the prologue (the Saint-Méen Life does not include one), the Saint-Méen and Gotha Lives are similar in outline, although in the Gotha Life the hortatory and homiletic opportunities offered are exploited more often and at greater length than in the Saint-Méen Life. In general, both Lives are mostly unexceptional in their use of motifs common to Celtic

[1] "Vies," p. 145, n. 1: Grosjean notes that the alien priory of Montacute in Somerset (founded by Robert or William of Mortain) possessed a dependent house, St Carroc, near Bodmin. In the mid-twelfth century Montacute was given an estate of this name (now St Cadix); a priory of this name is documented by the end of the twelfth century, but its origins are obscure and it is not known if the priory existed at the time of the grant to Montacute (Olson 1989, p. 98, and n. 219; Dugdale 1655-73, vol. v, pp. 167-8; Oliver 1846, p. 69; Calendar of the Patent Rolls. Henry IV, vol. I, p. 196).

[2] Grosjean argues that in general the prologue seems designed as much for a narration of *miracula* as a *vita* ("Vies," p. 135) and points specifically to the things heard from "testes transmarini et cismarini mecum adhuc superstites complures extant, qui tunc presentes uni solempni aderamus miraculo" as indicating the *Miracula*, the second item in particular (see below, page 55). The assertion of credible sources (both written and oral) and the essential truth of one's narrative is a commonplace of hagiographical prologues: the author of the influential *Vita I Samsonis* strikes all these notes in the four chapters of his prologue, including the truth of his narrative (although composed by an unworthy author; ch. 1), the variety of sources, oral and written (ch. 2), and the use of his own memories (ch. 3). He sums up in chapter 4: lest anyone doubt his account, his sources are credible and his intention is sincere (The Life of St. Samson of Dol, pp. 4-7; La vie de saint Samson, pp. 95-98). Hippolyte Delehaye, assessing hagiographical texts for a historically credible portrait of the saints described, noted with near-derision the hagiographer's "commonplace protestation of sincerity" (1961, p. 66).

[3] "Quamquam predecesorum desidia et ne dicam inscicia multa delata sint, que ann[u]alibus digna viderentur."

hagiography, although some details, such as a glass vessel which transports Petroc to a magical island, are rather unusual.[4] Indeed Elissa Henken was struck by the "abundance of travel motifs in a single life."[5] Not only are the Lives interested in travel beyond Cornwall, they are greatly interested in local travel. Topographic information and legends abound in the *Vitae Petroci*. Both the Lives are greatly interested in explaining the origins of foundations, place-names, and, in the Gotha Life especially,[6] natural or man-made features of the landscape.[7] This interest in a detailed local topography provides valuable evidence for the historian for the time of composition rather than for the period which the Lives purport to describe.[8] Not only can one see the state and location of certain significant sites, but one can also see how these, and their associated characters, were integrated (or not) into the legend of

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[4] "Vies," pp. 156 and 479. Among the many hagiographical and folkloric sea-journeys discussed by Gaël Milin (1989, 1991) and Cassard (1987), there is no close analogue to St Petroc's glass boat.

[5] Henken 1987, p. 204.

[6] See the description in the Gotha Life of the digging of trenches at Lanwethenek (ch. 6) and the fortification of Bodmin by St Petroc (ch. 22). The Gotha Life (ch. 5) also adds an onomastic tale for Port Reu. The latter is of particular interest as it is a "lost place-name" (Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 139, n. 12). According to Padel (1985, pp. 196-97) **rew*, 'slope,' is equi[illegible]ent to Welsh *rhiw*; Max Förster translates *rhiw*, as hillock (1943, p. 93 n. 1). Padel cites only [illegible]e examples of **rew*, all of which are formed with *tre*, 'farm,' as the first element.

[7] This interest in topography presents a contrast to the general tenor of [illegible]ographical texts: as Régis Boyer noted, place is "a nearly irrelevant scenery" (Boyer 1981 [illegible]). However, the 'topographical legend' is extremely common in Celtic literature, both secu[illegible]r and hagiographical (Corner 1985, p. 53).

[8] The presence, however, in the Lives of quasi-historical figures such as Teudur (ch. 10 in the Saint-Méen Life and ch. 9 in the Gotha Life; see Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, pp. 151-152), Cynan (ch. 12 in the Saint-Méen Life and ch. 16 in the Gotha Life; see Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 152), or even Constantine (ch. 11 in the Saint-Mé[illegible]n Life and ch. 12 in the Gotha Life), who has been identified by tradition with the Dumnonian king mentioned by Gildas and a saint of the same name (see Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, pp. 126-127) is intriguing; but their historical value is slight. This is not the case with the seemingly contemporary accounts in the *Miracula*, which at the least concern well-attested historical characters (below, page 54).

the saint.[9]

The topographical information provided by the Lives shows an attempt to integrate various traditions into a coherent pattern of biography; the resulting patterns can illuminate some of the particular concerns of the canons of St Petroc in the period of composition, the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The contrast between the Saint-Méen and Gotha Lives is especially striking in this respect. For example, a hermit named Samson appears in the Lives at the saint's initial landing in Cornwall.[10] Doble argues that this episode has integrated a tradition of a Samson who is commemorated by a "once important chapel ... at Lelissick [on the western bank of the Camel estuary],"[11] but doubts that this Samson was meant to represent the Breton saint, Samson of Dol, either in the text of the Saint-Méen Life or in the tradition upon which it drew, for nowhere in this text is this character so identified.[12] The Gotha Life, however, explicitly connects the Samson of this text with the Breton Samson of Dol: the author notes after Samson's last appearance in the text that he was subsequently made an archbishop in Brittany before his death.[13] The site of a miracle which had been

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[9] One character who might be expected to appear in St Petroc's Lives but does not is St Cadoc; see below, page 52.

[10] Ch. 5 in both Lives.

[11] Doble 1960-70, pt.4, p. 147; "Vies," p. 490, n. 1. John Adams (citing Davies Gilbert's Parochial History of Cornwall) and William Ferrar place St Samson's chapel at Prideaux Place, in Padstow (Adams 1869, p. 89; Gilbert 1838, vol. III, p. 281; Ferrar 1920, p. 37). See Chapter IV, note 108, for Lelissick in the later history of Bodmin priory.

[12] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 148.

[13] The description of Samson as an archbishop at Dol establishes, to a point, the date of the author's information. The first Life of Samson (Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 950), written perhaps as early as the seventh century (see Chapter III, note 223), never describes Samson as archbishop, although Joseph-Claude Poulin has argued that the idea is anticipated in the text (1977, p. 14). The second Life of Samson reflects the attempt, in the mid-ninth-century, of the Breton ruler Salomon to divest Brittany of the authority of Tours by creating an archbishopric

unnamed in the Saint-Méen Life (ch. 5) is also named (and glossed in Latin) in the Gotha Life: "in the language of the natives Tresphe Petroc ... that is *Mansio Petroci* (ch. 5)."[14]

After the meeting with Samson, Petroc travels to see someone who is called "bishop Wethenek" in the Saint-Méen Life (in ch. 5 of the Gotha Life Samson and Petroc visit a guest house in the "episcop<i>um beati Wethinoci") who gives over his cell to the saint, citing an ancient native prophecy (ch. 7). The Saint-Méen Life then provides an explanation of the name of the site, Lanwethenek (today Padstow)[15] and notes Wethenek's departure. The Gotha Life, however, gives an expanded account of this meeting with Wethenek, a "venerable bishop" ("venerandus pontifex," ch. 6). Wethenek, in the Gotha Life, gives over his place to Petroc only after the suitability of the site has been ascertained; this provides the opportunity for a description of the site: "for it was a rare solitude, suitable for amenity of fresh and salt water, and even fertile in its ground" (ch. 6).[16] Wethenek's explicit request that the site be named after him (found in the Saint-Méen Life) is not included in the Gotha Life, but unlike the Saint-Méen Life the Gotha Life provides a Latin gloss of the name: "in the language of the inhabitants Lan Wethinock expresses the Cemetery of Wethinoc."[17] Then follows, only

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at Dol, and presents Samson as an archbishop (Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, pp. 348-349). The description of Samson as archbishop must post-date the ninth or tenth-century second Life of Samson (Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 951). See Chapter III, pages 144ff.

[14] "indigenarum lingua Tresphe Petroc ... id est Mansio Petroci;" the form is corrupt ("Vies," p. 151 and n. 2). The name is Trebethenck, 'Farm (*tre*) of Petroc' (Padel 1988a, p. 164).

[15] See below, page 96.

[16] "... est enim secessus infrequens, dulcis aque et salsuginis amenitate accomodus, necnon et glebe pinguis."

[17] "... incolarum lingua Lan Wethinocke Cimiterium Wethinoci exprimit"; see below, note 227.

in the Gotha Life, an account of the saint's *conversatio*, and the digging of ditches,[18] which is explained as a project created by the saint to occupy his followers.

According to the Saint-Méen Life, after thirty years (ch. 7) Petroc takes twelve brethren into the wilderness of the mountains and establishes an unnamed cell (ch. 10), which he later leaves in order to seek, by the command of an angel, "a more hidden [part] of the wilderness" ("secretiora ... heremi," ch. 11). The Gotha Life, however, relates that the saint is said to have built an oratory and mill at "Nant Funttun, that is the Valley of the Spring"[19] very early on in the Life (ch. 6); this would seem to be the unnamed cell of the Saint-Méen Life. In the Gotha Life the saint is said to retire early on to Nantfenton (ch. 10) with twelve disciples (ch. 11); later (ch. 19) the Life states that St Petroc spent sixty years at both Nantfenton and Padstow (called in both *Vitae* Lanwethenek).

Both the Lives at this point relate a meeting with St Guron[20] and the founding of a new site. The Saint-Méen Life gives little detail: Petroc meets Guron, who gives his cell over to the saint and leaves (ch. 11). Petroc's disciples visit to beg his return, but he merely preaches a sermon to them (chs. 11 and 12). The Gotha life again provides additional detail, including a brief description of the area surrounding Guron's cell upon this meeting (ch. 19). According to the Gotha Life, Guron passes the site on to Petroc, and leaves for a new site, a

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[18] See below, page 95.

[19] "Nant Funttun, id est Vallis Fontis." This is Little Petherick, also known as *Sanctus Petrocus Minor*, whose church is dedicated to St Petroc (Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165). In 1281 the name of the parish was *Nanfonteyn*, 'Valley of the Well' (Padel 1988a, p. 137). Olson, who finds no evidence to support the account of the founding of an early monastery at Little Petherick in the Life, notes that the earlier name of the site commemorates a well, and not the saint or his monastery (Olson 1989, p. 69).

[20] See below, page 78.

journey of one day to the south.[21] Here, as in the Samson episode, the author of the Gotha Life has included additional information concerning the subsequent careers of some of the characters which appear and then disappear in the Saint-Méen Life.[22]

The Gotha Life then provides a second and more detailed description of the area around the new site, which is described as "a valley in the middle of two mountains, sufficiently watered by streams, suitable indeed for arable, planted, and pasturing farmland" (ch. 20).[23] The author continues with more toponymic information concerning this site: "since originally inhabited and cultivated by monks, it is called *Bothmenaa*, that is *Mansio Monachorum*" (ch. 20).[24] The Gotha Life also states that Petroc built two habitations there, one on a northern hill and another in the valley near the spring.[25] The theme continues in the Gotha Life as Petroc's brethren visit the new site in order to assure themselves of the suitability of the place (ch. 21). The next chapter also notes that Petroc fortifies ("munire satagens") the site (ch. 22).

Although for the most part the Gotha Life merely expands upon episodes included in the Saint-Méen Life (the Gotha Life, for example, introduces no new miracles), the ending of

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[21] According to Doble the parish of Goran is suitably located 'one day's journey to the south' (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 151).

[22] The seventeenth-century Cornish antiquarian, Nicholas Roscarrock, seems not to have known of the connection between St Petroc and St Guron; Guron is not mentioned in John of Tynemouth's fourteenth-century abbreviation of the Saint-Méen Life which was Roscarrock's chief source for St Petroc (Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, pp. 136-37; Jankulak 1994).

[23] "... vallis inter montes duos media, fontibus satis irrigua, arvo quidem sacionali, consitivo et pascuali idonea."

[24] "... quia primitus a monachis inhabitata et exculta est, dicitur Bothmenaa, id est Mansio Monachorum" ("Vies," p. 163). See below, note 156, for the possible significance of "primitus".

[25] See below, page 77.

the saint's life is exceptional. The Saint-Méen Life (ch. 13) gives the date of Petroc's death (June 4), but includes no other details such as where he died or was buried, although the text notes briefly that miracles occur at his tomb and through his relics. The Gotha Life, on the other hand, gives a detailed account of the saint's death (ch. 23). Petroc, sensing his impending end, makes a tour of his foundations but dies on his way from Nantfenton (Little Petherick) to Lanwethenek (Padstow) at the house of a family named Rovel, from which, the author states, comes yet another place-name, Tre Rovel.[26] Then follows an account of widespread mourning and the burial of the saint, "in the place which he had ennobled by the origin of his way of life" (ch. 23).[27] This is presumably Lanwethenek, although as in the Saint-Méen Life the place of burial, at which a curative fountain springs up, is not named.

It is surely odd that in a hagiographical tradition (especially as represented by the Gotha text) so concerned with location, natural and constructed topography, and onomastics, the place of the saint's tomb is not named, although both Lives state that this tomb is the site of miracles. The hint in the Gotha Life (but not in the Saint-Méen Life), that Petroc was buried at Lanwethenek/Padstow perhaps represents an attempt to record tradition without suggesting too strongly that the saint's relics have been moved (as they obviously have been by this time).[28] Yet the relics seem to have resided at Padstow until the tenth or even eleventh century. This presence of relics and the implied burial of the saint at Padstow suggest to Lynette Olson that "[Petroc's] primary association (as opposed to secondary

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[26] Today a farm, Treravel, near Little Petherick (Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, pp. 153-154); Ordnance Survey Pathfinder Series. Padstow and Wadebridge. Sheet SW 87/97 (1981).

[27] "... in loco quem primordio sue conversacionis nobilitavit."

[28] see below, page 57.

expansion of cult) was confined to the coastal monastery at Padstow."[29] The obvious tradition of Petroc's burial at Padstow must have undermined Bodmin's claim not only to the relics, but also the claim to status as a significant foundation of the saint himself, a status which the authors of both *Vitae* are at pains to support with events from the saint's life itself.

Other Hagiographical Records

St Petroc appears in only one medieval hagiographical text aside from those produced by his Cornish community. The preface to Lifris of Llancarfan's *Vita Cadoci*[30] presents Petroc as one of ten sons of Glywys,[31] the eponymous ancestor of a kingdom which began to dominate south-eastern Wales in the seventh century.[32] Nine of these ten sons themselves are given as kings and eponyms of regions within Glywysing, but one, Petroc, is said to have received no part of his inheritance because he shunned worldly matters. As Doble notes, Lifris obviously knew of Petroc, the foundation at Bodmin (Padstow is not mentioned), and the feast day of June 4, but little else.[33] Yet for all that Lifris knew of St Petroc, the authors of the *Vitae Petroci* knew less of (or were less concerned with) St Cadoc. Welsh tradition, represented by the *Vita Cadoci* and various genealogies, has integrated Petroc into the

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[29] Olson 1989, p. 68.

[30] Duine described the notice in the *Vita Cadoci* as "la plus ancienne notice sur S. Pétroc" (Duine 1918, p. 133), although if the Saint-Méen Life was composed around the time of the Conquest it could easily pre-date Lifris's effort, dated to the 1070s or 1080s (Davies 1982b, p. 208; Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 34).

[31] Although the Gotha Life does not name Petroc's father, it describes him as the son of 'ancestral kings' of Wales and one of twenty-five brothers (ch. 2). The Saint-Méen Life gives even less information.

[32] Davies 1982b, pp. 93-94.

[33] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 155.

traditions of the eponymous founders of south-east Welsh kingdoms;[34] this is St Cadoc's family, and Petroc is here the uncle of St Cadoc, who is said to have been the son of Glywys's first-born son, Gwynllŵg.[35]

The author of the Gotha Life has included information which does not appear in the Saint-Méen Life and which seems to stem from this tradition. While the Saint-Méen Life merely describes Petroc as a prince of Wales who refuses to take the kingship upon the death of his parents (chs. 1 and 2), the Gotha Life (ch. 2) includes the name of Petroc's brother, Winleus (although not that of his father). Yet the Gotha Life does not explicitly connect Petroc and Winleus with St Cadoc; indeed Cadoc is nowhere mentioned in either Life. Unlike the integration of a character named Samson into the Saint-Méen Life (based, presumably, on the existence of a chapel or topographical feature associated with this name) who is then identified as St Samson of Dol in the Gotha Life,[36] Cadoc, one of the more significant saints of Wales and a member of St Petroc's family, is not similarly exploited. This would be less surprising had there not existed a chapel dedicated to St Cadoc in Padstow parish.[37] The

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[34] Through Glywys in this dynastic construction, Henken notes, Petroc is related to "Maximian, Helena, Constantine, Diocletian, Trajan, Nero, and Augustus Caesar" (Henken 1987, p. 290). A genealogy in Oxford, BL, Jesus College Ms. 20 agrees with the *Vita Cadoci* in making Petroc a son of Glywys (Henken 1987, p. 199; Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts, p. 44). The genealogy provided in the Gotha dossier also provides a similar ancestry for Petroc, and mentions both the saint's brother Gwynllŵg and his nephew, Cadoc ("Vies," p. 188) Another tradition, found in *Bonedd y Saint* and *Achau'r Saint*, makes Petroc the son of Clemens, prince or earl of Cornwall, as does the portion of the Triads entitled *Pedwar marchog ar hugain llys Arthur* (Henken 1987, pp. 199-200; Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts, pp. 60 and 71; Trioedd Ynys Prydein, pp. 251 and 253).

[35] Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae, pp. 24-25. Compare the form of the name in the Gotha Life, Winleus (ch. 2).

[36] see above, page 46.

[37] This is in the parish of Padstow-in-Rure (see Chapter IV, note 40) and may be represented by St Cadoc Farm and St Cadoc's Cottage which are located between Trevone Bay and Harlyn

chapel, destroyed after the Reformation, is attested from 1283[38] and seems, by the evidence of William Worcestre, to have possessed the usual holy well.[39] The well may be that indicated in Lifris's *Vita Cadoci*, which describes the miraculous creation of a healing spring by the saint in Cornwall.[40] This topographical feature, a spring, less than three kilometres from Padstow, has not at all penetrated the Gotha Life, although other aspects of Petroc's Welsh and Cadoc-associated tradition have. The apparent omissions may represent nothing more than the paucity of Cadoc's reputation in Cornwall, a phenomenon which is intriguing but not entirely relevant to the cult of St Petroc.

Yet the familial and cultural context provided by the Welsh royal family does figure significantly in the Gotha Life. According to the Gotha account, Petroc rules his kingdom with his brother, but only until the saint's presence is no longer absolutely necessary. Petroc is clearly successful in defending his domain from aggressors, but takes little pride in this.

Bay; Ordnance Survey Pathfinder Series. Padstow and Wadebridge. Sheet SW 87/97 (1981).

[38] Henderson in Doble 1937, p. 32. The chapel also appears in the registers of Bishops Grandisson and Lacy (The Register of John de Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 910; The Register of Edmund Lacy, vol. 2, pp. 414-416) Lacy's register mentions "ecclesiam parochialem de Padestowe cum capella sancti Cradoci ab eadem ecclesia dependente" (vol. 2, p. 414). Grandisson's register locates this chapel in the neighbouring parish of St Merryn, and indicates a licence granted to the chaplain of this chapel to assist the vicar of St Merryn by, among other duties, preaching in Cornish (see below, note 270). The confusion over the chapel's location may have stemmed from the somewhat peculiar division of Padstow parish into town and rural (Chapter IV, note 40). Henderson argues that the chapel may have been considered a parish church for the rural portion of the parish (Henderson in Doble 1937, p. 32) but was never a parish church proper (Henderson 1955-60, p. 381).

[39] William Worcestre, Itineraries, p. 73. See also Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, pp. 122-23.

[40] Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae, pp. 92-95. This is not the place to discuss the accuracy of Lifris's larger Cornish geographical knowledge or identify the place-name *Dinsol* which remains obscure (Doble 1937, pp. 10-11). Lifris does not provide any means to locate the spring produced by Cadoc, but the chapel and perhaps well in Padstow parish provide the sole Cornish dedication to this well-known Celtic saint (Doble 1937, p. 15).

This martial aspect of Petroc's career, not at all present in the Saint-Méen Life, is a distinctive component of the Welsh traditions concerning the saint, who there bears the epithet *Paladrddellt*, 'Splintered Spear'.[41] Here the author of the Gotha Life seems to have incorporated both written and unwritten Welsh traditions into his narrative.[42]

Other texts of the twelfth century (including the theft narrative) which originated at Bodmin show the significant role played by relics in a process of promotion of their patron saint. The series of Miracles in the Gotha dossier[43] purport to show an at least partially successful expansion of Petroc's renown; this portrait of spreading fame is the expressed intention of this (and other such) collections.[44] The first miracle is a typical, if rather bold, narrative of a cure performed by the relics of the saint.[45] The tale gives the name of the woman cured, the date of the cure (1157), and, rather audaciously, notes that the suppliant in

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[41] This epithet may have inspired the local and rather late Cardiganshire tradition (where Petroc is the patron saint of a church) that Petroc was one of three or seven who escaped alive from the battle of Camlan. One poet, Dafydd Nanmor, explicitly states that Petroc renounced warfare for the religious life, 'after the one day above Dover' ("wedy'r vndydd, Vwch Dofr"); in 1535 Sir Lewis Newburgh wrote that he saw "a Relyk callyd Gwawe [*gwayw*, 'spear'] pedrok" in the church at Llanbedrog (Henken 1987, pp. 200-204). In addition, the above-mentioned portion of the Triads entitled *Pedwar marchog ar hugain llys Arthur* lists Petroc *Paladrddellt* as one of three survivors of Camlan. (Trioedd Ynys Prydein, pp. 251-253).

[42] The traditions concerning Petroc's spear and escape from Camlan appear in written form only in the fifteenth century (Trioedd Ynys Prydein, p. cxxx; Henken 1987, p. 29).

[43] The text was edited by Grosjean: "Vies," pp. 171-174.

[44] See, for example, the last item of the *Miracula*: "... crebra ... miracula et occultorum revelacio et precum efficax exaudicio longe lateque eius [i.e. Petroc's] noticiam diffundunt ... Hec enim satis testificantur quante sanctitatis et estimacionis et meriti apud illos habitus sit" ("Vies," pp. 173-174).

[45] The cure is accomplished when the woman, with other suppliants, sits in vigil in a structure, called an oratory and also a basilica, on top of a hill ("supra collem") near Bodmin. The interest in minutiae of topography and structures is similar to that displayed in the two Lives, especially the Gotha Life.

question had previously applied to St Swithun at Winchester, but had been only partly cured.[46] The second miracle presents a contest between all the saints of England when sailors "from diverse provinces"[47] are assembled on a ship which is threatened by a storm. Each survivor calls upon his local saint for help, but only the invocation of St Petroc by a Cornishman calms the storm. However, the third episode of the *Miracula* seems of a firmly 'historical' character, not the least as no miracle occurs in it. The tale, seemingly anticipating the theft narrative, relates how the secular canons[48] of Bodmin take the shrine[49] containing the relics of St Petroc to King Henry I in order to gain release from unjust exaction of revenues. Henry is so impressed by the relics (not only the corporeal relics of Petroc, but also his staff, and an ivory horn given to the saint by Constantine, king of Cornwall, on the occasion of his conversion by the saint),[50] and by their gilded shrine (which the author

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[46] There is no hint elsewhere of any connection with St Swithun or rivalry between Bodmin and the Cathedral of Winchester; see, however, Chapter IV, page 231, for the possession of relics of St Petroc at other Winchester foundations.

[47] "multi ex diversis provinciis in mari laborantes."

[48] This must be before the reform of the house; see Chapter IV, pages 198ff.

[49] The text does not explicitly state where the relics are kept at Bodmin, but merely states "canones seculares Bothmenie ... detulerunt feretrum ubi corpus sancti Petroci reconditur et ante regem Henricum ... deposuerunt."

[50] This is the only mention of the possession of the saint's staff and of the existence of such a horn. Although Constantine appears in the Lives, it is not as a king; see above, note 8. A Latin Life of St Neot (the *Vita II*), probably composed in south-west England between the Conquest and *c.* 1200 (Annals of St Neots, p. cxii; see also Richards 1981, p. 273), contains an account of a hunter and stag not unlike that of the Constantine episode of St Petroc's Lives. Michael Lapidge has argued for a Glastonbury or Glastonbury-related provenance (Annals of St Neots, pp. cxiv-cxv); this house has its own tradition concerning St Petroc (see Chapter IV, page 230). The account in the Life of St Neot refers to an ivory horn given by St Neot to St Petroc's church at Bodmin (Richards 1981, p. 276): "cornu venatoris ejusdem usque in præsentiarum in ecclesia sancti Petroci reservatum et vice reliquiarum ibidem honorifice sublimatum ob reverentiam atque memoriam Neoti, confessoris sanctissimi, per cujus donum ibi translatum est" (ch. 34, AASS July VII, p. 335). The sixteenth-century guild chapel at St Neot in Cornwall depicts "incidents unique

describes in detail)[51] that he grants the petition of the foundation. There is neither a cure nor anything of the supernatural in this episode, although as if to make up for this the fourth item relates a miracle performed by the relics of the saint on the return journey to Bodmin.[52] The final paragraph of the short text reflects upon the intangible nature of miracles, and offers to sceptics as proof of the power of the saint the flourishing condition of the saint's foundation, its position as the recipient of the gifts of kings, princes, and the populace. This boast about the renown of the saint and the health of his foundation is, from evidence to be discussed below, not an idle one; nor does the author misrepresent the situation in attributing the prosperity of the community to the presence of the relics of St Petroc.

The Community of St Petroc at Bodmin

The prosperity of the community of St Petroc at Bodmin[53] is clearly visible in the fortunes of the town of Bodmin itself, which probably owed its origin and growth to St Petroc. Bodmin is one of the earliest recognisable towns of Cornwall,[54] most likely due to the presence of the increasingly important ecclesiastical foundation at the site.[55] Both

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to the *Vita* [II]" (Richards 1981, p. 272); among the windows of the chapel is one, dated 1529, which possibly represents St Petroc (Mattingly 1989, p. 307 and letter received from Joanna Mattingly, 17 January, 1995).

[51] The shrine is said to bear an inscription indicating that King Edgar commissioned it.

[52] This miracle takes place in Dartmoor (*Dertmora*); See Chapter IV, page 228.

[53] See Chapter IV, *passim*.

[54] Preston-Jones and Rose 1986, p. 163.

[55] The growth of towns around religious communities seems to have been a common pattern in medieval Cornwall, which Ann Preston-Jones and Peter Rose describe as "like the rest of Britain ... overwhelmingly rural in character" (Preston-Jones and Rose 1986, p. 163). Towns are also significant as trading and administrative centres, but their ecclesiastical character (if not origin) is often an indication of the suitability of their location for other purposes (see Preston-

settlement patterns and Domesday book suggest, Preston-Jones and Rose argue, that "major religious communities may have been the main foci for early medieval nucleated settlement."[56] The increasing prosperity and prominence of the town of Bodmin cannot, in the medieval period, be viewed in isolation from the rising fortunes of the religious foundation around which the settlement if not originated, at least developed.

Bodmin's most significant claim to prominence in the first records of its name would seem to be the presence of the relics of St Petroc. The site is named, for example, as the resting-place of Petroc, and of three otherwise unknown disciples, Credan, Medan, and Dachuna in a Latin relic-list contained in the *Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*,[57] dated to 1155 or later at Peterborough.[58] Another list of resting-places of saints, the *Catalogus sanctorum in Anglia pausancium*,[59] also identifies Bodmin as the saint's final resting-place (and thus the site of his relics). This list, however, seems to have obtained its account of St Petroc mostly from the Gotha Life;[60] the compiler probably had no independent knowledge of the relics' whereabouts.[61]

Jones and Rose 1986, pp. 163-4).

[56] Preston-Jones and Rose 1986, p. 164.

[57] The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, p. 63: "Et in Botraene sanctus Petrocus et sanctus Credanus et sanctus Medanus et sancta Dachuna uirgo." See, however, Doble 1943-6, p. 137 for a query concerning *Botraene*.

[58] Rollason 1978, pp. 69 and 71.

[59] see Rollason 1978, p. 69; the list appears in London, Lambeth Palace, ms. 99 (James 1932, p. 99) and London, BL ms. Harley 3776, ff. 118-27 (M[illar] 1932-33, p 115).

[60] "Vies," p. 473, n. 2; Jankulak 1994, pp. 187-188.

[61] It is intriguing in this connection to note Rollason's suggestion that one source of the *Catalogus* (at least that appearing in Harley 3776) may have been another list of resting-places, the *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston* (see above, page 86), for a Latin translation of the *Secgan* appears in the margin of the Harley 1776 *Catalogus* (Rollason

The relics of the saint also enabled transactions which were quite possibly directly responsible for the foundation's prominence. The record of these transactions, manumissions of slaves on the altar of St Petroc (presumably in the presence of St Petroc's relics)[62], not only preceded the creation of the hagiographical dossier of the saint, but, it might be argued, attracted to St Petroc the notice and veneration necessary for the creation of such a dossier.[63] These records, the earliest written evidence of the presence of the cult of St Petroc, are contained in the manuscript known as the Bodmin Gospels. This gospel book (London, BL Add. ms. 9381), written in Continental caroline minuscule s. ix/x according to N.R. Ker,[64] seems to have been produced in France[65] (most likely in Brittany).[66] Recorded in the book are 51 manumissions of slaves[67] described in many cases (in both Latin and Old English) as

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1978, p. 72). However, the *Secgan* locates Petroc's relics at Padstow and the *Catalogus*, like Hugh Candidus's list, locates these at Bodmin (London, BL Harley 3776, ff. 118v, Latin *Secgan*, and 121, *Catalogus*).

[62] See below, page 61.

[63] Della Hooke also notes manumissions performed at Tywarnhale in Perranzabuloe by Byrhtric *c*. 1050 and recorded in the Leofric Missal; no relics are mentioned in this record (1994, p. 81). Tywarnhayle was, at the time of the Domesday survey, held by the Count of Mortain of St Petroc; at the time of the Conquest it was held by Algar who 'could not be separated from St Petroc.' See Chapter IV, page 202 and Appendix I, page 328.

[64] Ker 1957, p. 159.

[65] Jenner 1922-25, p. 120.

[66] Deuffic 1985, p. 300; Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 121. See Chapter III, pages 154ff for Breton people, relics, and manuscripts in tenth-century England, and page 163 for the Bodmin Gospels.

[67] Edited by Förster ("Die Freilassungsurkunden"); all references to the manumissions by entry number refer to this edition. The deeds recorded are characterised as manumissions, although clearly some address the issue of levels of freedom without recording actual manumissions (see, for example no. L).

performed 'on the altar of St Petroc.'[68] These entries, on both palaeographical and historical grounds, appeared to have accompanied acts of manumission spanning a period from the mid-tenth to late eleventh or early twelfth century.[69] An unprecedented abundance of social information is provided by the Celtic, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon names of both manumitters and manumittees. The manumittees bear Cornish and Anglo-Saxon names, with the former predominating; the manumitters again bear both types of names, but here the Anglo-Saxon names are in the majority; the witnesses are more evenly divided.[70] The form and length of the manumissions are extremely uneven; examples range from one or two seemingly disconnected names[71] to what Wendy Davies describes as "complete charters of a consistent and distinctive [Celtic] type."[72]

What the manumissions do consistently show is the frequency of such transactions at St Petroc's altar. Such a proliferation of records, unparalleled in Cornwall, must surely show the preeminence of Petroc among the saints of Cornwall or even south-west Britain. Moreover, the manumissions show the presence or at least invocation of prominent secular

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[68] Some variant of the phrase "sup*er* altare s*anct*i Petroci" appears in 31 manumissions: nos. I-IV, VIII-IX, XI-XII, XIV-XXII, XXIV-XXV, XXVII, XXXI, XXXIV-XXXVI, XXXVIII-XL, XLII-XLIV, LI. A variant of the phrase "æt Petrocys weofede" appears twice: nos. XXX and XLVI.

[69] "Die Freilassungsurkunden," p. 82; Ker 1957, p. 159.

[70] Jenner 1922-25, p. 241. See, however, Oliver Padel's caution (below, note 270) concerning the dual Cornish-Anglo-Saxon nomenclature displayed, as a matter of course it would seem, by several tenth-century Cornishmen.

[71] no. VI.

[72] Davies 1982a, pp. 259-260 and n. 6. Davies refers to seven such full charters: nos. I, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXX, XXXI, and XXXVII.

and ecclesiastical figures at these transactions.[73] All the kings of England from 941 to 1016 except for Edward the Martyr are represented in the entries,[74] as are various dukes.[75] The clerical grades represented include *presbiter, sacerdos, diaconus, clericus, massepreost, decanus, abbas*, and *episcopus* or *byscop*.[76] Bishop Burhwold (1002-1018 x 1027-1031)[77] witnessed one manumission (no. XXII, discussed below). Burhwold is said to have been the last bishop of Cornwall, as his successor, Lyfing, held Cornwall and Crediton (the seat of the bishopric of Devon) in plurality.[78] An *Æðelg(ar) biscop*, who is identified with a tenth-century bishop of Crediton,[79] also appears in one manumission (no. XXVI). Also present is a *Wulsige episcopus*, whose name, W.M.M. Picken has shown, is glossed with *Wulsige*

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[73] the potentially retrospective nature of charters notwithstanding. Wendy Davies argue 'Celtic' charters of this type are no more or less retrospective than other charters (Davies 1 p. 267). See also Ní Dhonnchadha 1982, pp. 179 and 215.

[74] Jenner 1922-25, p. 250. The kings so represented are Edmund, 941-946 (nos. XI and XII, given as manumitter), Edred, 946-955 (nos. XXVI and XXXVI, given as the one on whose behalf the manumission is being performed), Eadwig, 955-959 (no. XXIX, given as the one on whose behalf the manumission is being performed), Edgar, 959-975 (nos. VII, XIV, XXXII, XXXIX, XL, XLII, XLVI, XLVII, and XLIX, given as the one on whose behalf the manumission is being performed; XXV, given as the manumitter; no. L, given as one who has given his permission for the persons named to defend themselves against the charge of being *coloni regis*); Ethelred, 976-1016 (no. XVIII, given as the manumitter).

[75] Jenner 1922-25, pp. 251-252. Also in evidence are several described as *preposit(us)* (no. XVIII and XXII), one *prauost* (no. 33), one *consul* (no. 22), one *hundredes mann* and/or *centurionis* (nos. XXX and XXXI), and one *portgereua* (no. XXX).

[76] Often what seems to be the same person is designated by different titles. A character named Byrhsie is fairly typical; one of the *clerici sancti Petroci* (no. XXII), he is designated by the titles of *presbiter* (nos. IV, VII, VIII XIV, XVI, XXXIV, and L) *clericus* (nos. XXII and XXV), *sacerdos* (no. XLII), *masseprost* (nos. XLVI and XLVII), and by no title at all (no. X).

[77] Blake 1982, p. 5.

[78] Jenner 1922-25, p. 254. The two sees were soon combined and their seat moved from Crediton to Exeter ([Orme] 1991, pp. 199-200).

[79] Jenner 1922-25, p. 252; Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, vol. I, p. 682 n.

Cemoyre; thus we have a Cornish bishop with both an Anglo-Saxon and a Cornish name.[80]

The immediate impetus behind the performance of such transactions in connection with St Petroc must be the presence at his foundation of relics which have been accepted as authentic.[81] Several manumissions make explicit mention of various relics of the saint upon which these deeds had been transacted; others mention only St Petroc's altar.[82] In one early eleventh-century[83] manumission (no. XXII), a woman, Ælfgyþ, was freed 'upon the bell of St Petroc in the *villa* called Liskeard'[84] before various witnesses, both the *clerici sancti Petroci* and others (and in the presence of *Eadsige scriptor*). Afterwards, the manumission continues, the one on whose behalf the manumission was performed, *Æþelwærd dux*, went to

[80] Picken 1986b, p. 37. Previously, Henderson, Jenner, and Padel accepted 'Wulfsige Cemoyre' as a tenth-century Cornish bishop with an English and Cornish name (Henderson 1925, p. 26; Jenner 1922-25, p. 253; Padel 1978, p. 25, n. 22). Haddan and Stubbs and D.W. Blake saw the two as separate (Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, vol. I, pp. 682-683, n.; Blake 1982, p. 5). Oliver Padel has noted that four tenth-century Cornishmen are recorded with dual Cornish and English names, and suggested that "it must have been quite normal at that time for a Cornishman who wanted to make himself respectable to take an English name as well as his Cornish one" (1978, p. 25, n. 22).

[81] See Geary 1990, pp. 37-38, for the Merovingian and Carolingian practise of swearing oaths on relics, which Charles the Bald "made ... normative, ordering that 'all oaths be sworn either in a church or on relics'." See also Charles Doherty for a similar practice in Ireland (Doherty 1984, p. 100). Herrmann-Mascard notes that there was little legislation concerning the swearing of oaths on various sacred items (relics, gospels, an altar, a cross, the hand of a cleric) from the ninth to the mid twelfth century, and that, in particular legislators reacted to the swearing of extra-judicial private promissory oaths "indifféremment" (1975, pp. 237, 258, 264). Although these manumissions surely fall into this latter category, it is reasonable to assume that the transactions 'on St Petroc's altar' at least in part recognised the presence of relics.

[82] Herrmann-Mascard has commented upon the lack of secular or ecclesiastical legislation, from the ninth to the eleventh century, concerning the swearing of oaths on a sacred object; sacred objects could include relics, gospels, an altar, the cross, or the hand of a cleric (1975, p. 237).

[83] "Die Freilassungsurkunden," p. 89; Ker 1957, p. 159.

[84] "... super cimbalum sancti Petroci in uilla, que nominatur Lys Cerruyt." Olson points out that Liskeard is eleven miles east of Bodmin (Olson 1989, p. 71, n. 94).

the *monasterium sancti Petroci* and freed the woman before other witnesses (different from the witnesses at Liskeard, with the exception of *Wulfsige diaconus*, one of the *clerici sancti Petroci*).[85] Jenner interprets this entry as demonstrating the use of a relic, the bell of the saint,[86] brought to a manumitter who is sufficiently eminent as to merit the bringing of a relic to her, although the *dux*, presumably her husband, did later confirm the transaction at the *monasterium*.[87] Presumably the bell of the saint is a portable relic, unlike the corporeal relics of the saint.

The immobility of the corporeal relics is underscored in another manumission in which the relics are pointedly described as located at the church (no. XXIX).[88] In this manumission, a person named Marh (who seems wealthy, if not noble)[89] freed a slave, Leðelt, and her family on behalf of King Eadwig "on his ægen reliq*ui*as." Marh then ordered Leðelt to be brought to the church and freed her on Petroc's relics.[90] It would seem that Marh possessed his own relics, upon which he performed the manumission, but in order to

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[85] Not only *Buruhwold bisceop* witnessed the transaction at the *monasterium*, but so did a *Germanus abbas*, in addition to a *Ylcærþon prepositus* and a *Teþion consul*. Evidently this was an especially distinguished occasion.

[86] It is not unduly disturbing that nowhere in the hagiography or iconography of St Petroc is mention made of a bell; the idea of a bell as a relic of a Celtic saint is, as Jenner points out, not at all unusual (Jenner 1922-25, p. 245). See especially Smith 1990, *passim*.

[87] Jenner 1922-25, pp. 245-246.

[88] As the manumission is dated to the mid-tenth century from the performance of the manumission on behalf of *Eadwig cyningc* ("Die Freilassungsurkunden," p. 91; Olson 1989, p. 71, n. 94) the site is presumably Padstow. However, as Olson points out, there is no indication of the location of the *mynstre* of the manumission, nor any indication that the site is not the same as that of the *monasterium* of manumission no. XXII (Olson 1989, p. 71, n. 94).

[89] There is, however, no reason to link this Marh to a Marh commemorated in a place-name recorded in 1284 as *Tremargh*, 'Farm of Margh' (Padel 1988a, p. 16, 168, and 209).

[90] "... *and* he hie het lædan hider to mynstere *and* her ge-freogian on Petrocys reliq*ui*as."

confirm or solidify the arrangement he at some time brought the slave to Padstow in order to free her on Petroc's relics, which, by the evidence of this manumission, did not travel.[91] Moreover, although relics are not mentioned in other manumissions, their presence and authority are implicit in the frequent mention made in manumissions of being 'on the altar of St Petroc.'[92]

The presence of relics is a persistent theme throughout the history of the medieval cult of St Petroc.[93] Relics give visibility to a saint, enable legal transactions, and no doubt attract veneration from a widespread area.[94] Yet relics could not propel a saint into renown if the saint to whom they were attached were not perceived as deserving of this reputation. Relics

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[91] It should also be noted that the performing of the manumission at St Petroc's church might have been necessary in order to have the act recorded in the Gospels.

[92] See above, note 68. Relics were integral parts of many churches from the fourth century onwards; before the ninth century relics could be located in various sites within the church but after this most were located at the main altar (Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 144-46, 171-173). The practice in Celtic areas may have had a somewhat different origin as the basilica over a martyr's tomb was not a common church type; thus the relationship between church and grave was distinctive. Although Charles Thomas argues that the church was a secondary elaboration of a sacred site in early medieval Celtic Britain (see below, note 232), and that most early examples of shrines are found outside of the church (Thomas 1986a, p. 145), he maintains that some post-Saxon churches reveal graves (perhaps of significant personages) within the building, even adjoining the altar (Thomas 1986a, p. 146). Moreover, the Cornish Isles of Scilly have yielded a pre-Norman church, whose "altar-block contained a genuine relic cavity" (Thomas 1986b, p. 124).

[93] A miracle in the Saint-Méen Life (ch. 12) concerns an ailing *tribunus*, to whom Petroc appears in a vision ordering that he free criminals in his custody; "quibus factis manumissis" he is healed. Here the living saint (or at least a vision of him) accomplishes much the same thing which his relics had effected with these manumissions. Indeed, Doble, notes, "it is hardly possible the author of this Life was not familiar with the records of manumissions ... which cover the pages of the Bodmin Gospels" (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 144 n. 27).

[94] See Herrmann-Mascard: relics have important political, social, and economic consequences (1975, p. 271). In this latter category one notes the attraction of pilgrims and the bearing of relics to a potential patron in order to gain some favour (as the canons of St Petroc did in the mid-twelfth century according to the *Miracula*).

are a useful tool in the propagation of an already growing fame. That the community of St Petroc possessed such relics no doubt assisted the seemingly sporadic episcopal claims made by or on behalf of the saint and his foundations. Yet, as noted above, both *Vitae* imply that the relics of the saint were originally located not at Bodmin, but at Padstow. The relics clearly were moved from the one site to the other. The community of St Petroc may, in fact, have inherited the basis for such episcopal claims as were advanced through their relocation to Bodmin.

The Community of St Petroc in the Episcopal History of Cornwall

Although the evidence for episcopal affairs in early medieval Cornwall is sparse, the transfer of the community of St Petroc from Padstow to Bodmin can be viewed as significant in the history of a Cornish see. In the early ninth century (815 x 839),[95] King Ecgberht granted various estates around Padstow to the bishop of Sherborne (whose diocese included Cornwall),[96] isolating, it would seem, the enclave of Padstow from possessions beyond.[97] This isolation has been offered as a possible cause of the move of the community of St Petroc

[95] Hooke 1994, p. 16.

[96] The relationship of Cornwall to the bishopric of Sherborne is somewhat unclear, probably because Cornwall was in the process of integration into an English ecclesiastical organisation (Olson 1989, p. 96, n. 211). Although there were perhaps several bishops in Cornwall before the elevation by Athelstan of a Cornish bishop, the "nominal head of the West Saxon church in Devon and Cornwall [as well as Dorset and Somerset] was the bishop of Sherborne" (Blake 1982, p. 1). See also Orme 1991, p. 19 and Alfred the Great, pp. 264-5.

[97] Olson 1989, p. 69; see also Chapter IV, pages 183ff. These grants are mentioned in a letter from Archbishop Dunstan to King Æthelred, which describes them as enjoyed by Eadwulf and his successor, Æthelgar, bishops of Crediton. See The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, pp. 18-19 (Sawyer 1968, no. 1296) and English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042, pp. 892-894 (no. 229) for this letter.

from Padstow to Bodmin.[98] Olson admits that this theory "has considerable merits" and attempts, not entirely without difficulty, to combine both this isolation and a tenth-century Viking raid (noted in the C-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 981)[99] into a chronology of the community of St Petroc at Padstow and Bodmin.[100] She offers an account in which because of this grant of estates the *administrative* centre (but not the entire community or the relics of the patron saint) was moved in the ninth century to Bodmin, which was either founded at this time by the community of St Petroc or had existed independently. The relics followed after the Viking raid.[101]

Bodmin may have retained, at the time of the move, vaguely-recalled episcopal vestiges. In the years 833 x 870 a Cornish bishop named Kenstec sent a profession of canonical obedience to Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury.[102] Although this profession was "typical of its counterparts in the formulae which it [employed]," Kenstec described his position somewhat unusually in terms of his position as 'elected to an episcopal see among the Cornish in the *monasterium* called Dinnurrin.[103] Leaving aside the question of the exact

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[98] Henderson in Doble 1938, p. 52; Pearce 1978, p. 84.

[99] Olson suggests that "the community of Petroc moved from Padstow to Bodmin after the viking-raid on 'Sancte Petroces stow' (now understood to be the former place) in 981 as recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (Olson 1989, p. 69).

[100] Olson 1989, p. 73.

[101] Olson 1989, pp. 69-73.

[102] Cartularium Saxonicum, vol. II, p. 145, no. 527.

[103] "episcopalem sedem in gente Cornubia in monasterio quod lingua Brettonum appelatur Dinnurrin electus" (Cartularium Saxonicum, vol. II, p. 145; Olson 1989, pp. 51-52).

status of a bishop 'elected to an episcopal see located in a *monasterium* in Cornwall,'[104] the existence of a religious foundation named *Dinuurrin*[105] associated with the presence of a Cornish bishop (although not necessarily a bishop of Cornwall) in the ninth century at a site which, it has been argued, was near or at Bodmin,[106] is intriguing. The place name was lost at an early period; the above profession is its sole example.

This combination of circumstances leaves some questions unanswered: if the community of St Petroc either founded or took over the *monasterium* of Dinuurrin and made it the centre of its administration (before Kenstec's profession) at least for a time, why does the name used in the profession, Dinuurrin, signify a fortified settlement dedicated to an

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[104] I have not translated *monasterium* here: although I am mindful of Sarah Foot's suggestion that the term, encompassing almost any type of religious establishment, might easily be translated as 'minster,' this usage seems more appropriate to Anglo-Saxon England, deriving as it does, from Old English *mynster* and having at times a specific application to mother churches. It is impossible to tell what type of church Kenstec is describing; nevertheless he differentiates between his episcopal seat and the church at which it is located. Sarah Foot, after all, has noted that "in vernacular and Latin texts written [in Anglo-Saxon England] in the pre-Viking period ... the word *monasterium* and its Old English equivalent *mynster* were used interchangeably to denote any establishment housing a community of religious other than an episcopal see" (1992, pp. 233-234). That being said, it should be noted that Ann Preston-Jones, in her survey of Cornish churchyards throughout the Middle Ages, is careful to speak in terms of churches, not monasteries. Yet her conclusion notes that many of the earliest Christian sites in Cornwall seem to have been daughter houses of Welsh monastic communities (Preston-Jones 1992, p. 122). Elsewhere, Preston-Jones and Peter Rose describe the "earliest Christian foundations, or *lanns*" (see below, page 93, for *lanns*) as "settlements of people dedicated to a religious life" (Preston-Jones and Rose 1986, p. 160). It may not be appropriate to speak of *monasteries* in the sense of regular and highly organised orders, but some sense of a community self-consciously set apart from secular life (although not necessarily "recognisably monastic" (Brett 1990, p. 122) seems suitable. Thus I use the term *monasterium* in this sense. See also below, note 185.

[105] Because of the ambiguity of the fourth letter of the name in the manuscript, Oliver Padel has suggested this spelling as in keeping with the spelling of Cornish in the ninth century (Olson and Padel 1986, p. 61; Olson 1989, p. 52).

[106] See below, pages 78ff, for the argument connecting *Dinuurrin* with Bodmin.

obscure saint, presumably the Guron of the *Vitae*?[107] The change of name from Dinuurrin to Bodmin, admittedly, would have taken place at some time between Kenstec's profession and the eleventh century when the name Bodmin first appears in the manumissions and in Domesday, and may be due to the abandonment by the community of St Petroc of a site (Dinuurrin) near the present Bodmin for that in the valley, Bodmin itself.[108]

If, however, Kenstec made his profession from what was just recently made the administrative centre of the community of St Petroc, why does his profession not refer to St Petroc? Moreover, if the community of St Petroc was even in part located at Bodmin during Kenstec's tenure why is there no mention of this in the hagiography produced by the foundation? The episcopal associations in the Lives are connected explicitly to Wethenek (and thus to Padstow, although not to St Petroc).[109] Yet Olson's suggestion has the merit of demonstrating a potential early association between the community of St Petroc and a bishopric in Cornwall; she thus offers a possible explanation for the otherwise puzzling invocation of St Petroc in connection with the medieval Cornish bishopric. Moreover, Olson argues not only that such an early association existed, but also that this association ceased to exist at an early stage, being unrecoverable in the documentation except as a memory.[110] This may account for the ambiguity and tenuousness of St Petroc's episcopal claims.

In the early tenth century the diocese of Sherborne was reorganised into three

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[107] See below, pages 78ff, for the elements of this place-name.

[108] Olson (1989, p. 55) suggests the presumed move from the hill to the town-site in the valley as the reason for the loss of the name Dinuurrin; see below, page 79.

[109] In the Saint-Méen *Vita Petroci* Wethenek, Petroc's predecessor at Padstow, is described as "episcopus" ("Vies," p. 491) and in the Gotha *Vita* Wethenek, "venerandus pontifex", is described as living at his "episcop<i>um" ("Vies," pp. 152-153).

[110] Olson 1989, pp. 77-78.

dioceses: Sherborne, Wells, and Crediton (which included Cornwall).[111] In the early to mid-tenth century Athelstan seems to have founded a Cornish bishopric at St Germans under a bishop named Conan.[112] This founding of a bishopric, like much of the preceding Cornish episcopal chronology,[113] is found in a letter from Archbishop Dunstan to King Æthelred; in this case the relevant sentence has been added "over an erasure and above the line in another hand."[114] However the existence of a Cornish bishopric at the time of Athelstan is supported by Bishop Conan's signature on various charters[115] and also by a note in Leland's

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[111] Pearce 1978, p. 115; Blake 1982, p. 2.

[112] Olson 1989, pp. 63-4. Athelstan is extremely popular as a perhaps legendary founder and protector of Cornish churches (and, for that matter, of churches elsewhere). A late fourteenth-century inquisition before the escheator of Cornwall had this to say about the origin of Bodmin priory: "Adelston, formerly king of England, founded the house of the priory of Bodmyn and gave the prior and convent great possessions to maintain 2 convents there, that is 26 canons to celebrate and to distribute alms to the poor twice on Saturday" (Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, vol. V, no. 305). Leland described him as remembered at Padstow as the bestower of privilege (perhaps that of sanctuary) to the town, even glossing the name *Adelstow* (itself a mistake for *Aldestow*; see below, page 100) as "Latine Athelstani locus" (The Itinerary of John Leland, pt. II p. 179). Moreover, as Olson points out, Leland made a similar statement about Bodmin (Olson 1989, p. 72, n. 99; The Itinerary of John Leland, pt. II, pp. 179 and 180). Leland, in his *Collectanea*, described Athelstan as the founder (or, as Olson puts it, "or rather re-founder"; Olson 1989, p. 72, n. 99) of the monastery at Bodmin (Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, t. I, p. 75). Padel, however, notes that "[Athelstan's] renown is not very well founded in historical fact;" several charters purporting to be grants to Cornish churches from Athelstan are dubious or spurious (Padel 1978, p. 26, n. 23); Athelstan seems to have been a convenient character on which one might hang 'tradition', even in the twentieth century.

[113] See above, note 97.

[114] Olson 1989, p. 63, n. 54. According to Pierre Chaplais, the sentence in question, "Þa gelamp hit *þæt* æþestan cing sealde sunune bisceoprice ealswa tamur scæt," was written over an erasure in a third hand (the second hand being a contemporary interpolator) which seems later than the letter itself (Chaplais 1966, p. 19; The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, p. 19 and Olson 1989, p. 63, n. 24).

[115] Padel 1978, p. 26; Olson 1989, p. 63 and n. 56.

Collectanea.[116]

The next stage in the chronology of Cornish episcopal history is again attested by the Dunstan letter, which states that King Eadred elevated Daniel (who, like Conan, is attested outside of the letter)[117] to the bishopric and assigned the three estates granted previously to Sherborne to this bishopric, described as located at St Germans.[118] This would be in the mid-tenth century, before the Viking raid on Padstow. Thus far, the events are relatively uncomplicated. However a charter, seemingly an original,[119] of King Æthelred, dated 994, casts a shadow on the matter. Lynette Olson has offered this translation of the dispositive sentence, on which the matter hinges:

> Wherefore I now make known to all Catholics, that, with the counsel and license of the bishops and nobles and of all my best men, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the holy confessor St Germanus and also of the blessed excellent Petroc, for the redemption of my soul and for the absolution of my crimes, I have granted that the diocese of Bishop Ealdred, that is, in the province of Cornwall, be free, and subject to him and all his successors, that he govern and rule his diocese as the other bishops who are in my dominion, and that the place and governance of St Petroc be always in his and his successors' power.[120]

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[116] Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, t. I, p. 75 Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, vol. I, p. 676. Leland's note was apparently based on a charter in a lost register of Plympton priory. Recently what would seem to be a seventeenth-century copy of the relevant entry was discovered by W.M.M. Picken and published by Padel (1978, pp. 26-7): it supports Leland's statement that Athelstan elevated Conan to the Cornish bishopric at St Germans in 936.

[117] Blake 1982, p. 4.

[118] See below, note 135, for St Germans.

[119] Chaplais 1966, p. 21.

[120] "Qua de re, nunc patefacio omnibus catholicis, quod cum consilio et licentia episcoporum ac principum, et omnium optinatum meorum, pro amore domini nostri Iesu Christi atque sancti confessoris Germani necnon et beati eximii Petroci, pro redemptione animae meae, et pro absolutione criminum meorum donaui episcopium Ealdredi episcopi, id est in prouincia Cornubiae ut libera sit, eique subiecta omnibusque posteris eius, ut ipse gubernet atque regat suam parochiam sicuti alii episcopi qui sunt in mea ditione, locusque atque regimen sancti Petroci

The charter seems to grant or confirm the liberties of the diocese of Cornwall; the reason behind this is somewhat obscure, given that we have no secure context within which to consider the status of a possibly anomalous see.[121] Moreover, the circumstances generating the granting of these liberties must be themselves exceptional, since, as Olson points out, "as far as is known, grants or confirmations of liberties were not made regularly to dioceses on the accession of a new bishop in Anglo-Saxon England."[122]

H.P.R. Finberg interpreted the charter as granting full diocesan status to Cornish bishops who had previously been *chorepiscopi* of the see of Crediton.[123] Finberg based this conclusion (one which has enjoyed an unquestioned popularity)[124] in part on the bishop of Crediton's presumed possession of episcopal estates in Cornwall, less the three estates granted to the see of Cornwall as indicated in Dunstan's letter.[125] Finberg also asserted, however, that "an entry in the Bodmin Gospels records a number of manumissions carried out there 'for King Eadred and Bishop Æthelgar' of Crediton."[126] Finberg was referring to one entry

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semper in potestate eius sit successorum illius" (Olson 1989, p. 74 and n. 107). The relevant section of the charter appears in Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici, vol. III, pp. 276-7; see Sawyer 1968, no. 880.

[121] Note, for example, the singularity of Kenstec's position; as Olson points out "[Kenstec] is not really said to be bishop *of* anything" (Olson 1989, p. 52).

[122] Olson 1989, p. 75.

[123] Finberg 1964, p. 113.

[124] See Chaplais 1966, p. 9; Pearce 1978, pp. 115-116; Blake 1982, pp. 2-3; and Todd 1987, p. 289.

[125] Finberg seems to base this contention on the evidence of Dunstan's letter, showing that the ownership of the three episcopal estates was in dispute (Finberg 1964, pp. 169-70).

[126] Finberg 1964, p. 113.

which records the manumissions of three family groups under these circumstances.[127] However, of all the bishops named in all the entries naming bishops in the record of manumissions, this is the only record which involves a bishop of Crediton and not of Cornwall. Finberg's statement is itself reasonable enough, but further elaborations of it have distorted the relative roles of the bishops of Crediton and Cornwall in the manumissions.[128]

Lynette Olson argues that far from granting full diocesan status to the Cornish bishopric, Æthelred's charter concerned itself with reinforcing the authority of a pre-existing bishopric. The diocese of Cornwall as established by Athelstan, Olson asserts, was a territorial bishopric not unlike others in Anglo-Saxon England, an interpretation supported by Dunstan's letter.[129] The charter, Olson suggests, was intended as a corrective to the frailty of the new bishopric, as attested by the dispute over the three Cornish estates concerned in Dunstan's letter. However, Olson finds most significant the addressing of the issue of the "[locus] atque regimen sancti Petroci" which were henceforth to come under the authority of the bishop and his successors. The first must signify, literally, the 'place' of Petroc, "an ecclesiastical establishment distinctively associated with Petroc,"[130] probably Bodmin (but perhaps Padstow). The second has been interpreted either as admitting dual centres of the Cornish

[127] "Die Freilassungsurkunden," no. XXVI; see above, page 60.

[128] See Todd 1987, p. 289: "the manumissions ... were still being carried out in the presence of the bishop of Crediton in the late tenth century" or Blake 1982, pp. 2-3: "it is noticeable that manumissions at Bodmin were often carried out in the presence of the Bishop of Crediton."

[129] Olson points to the phrase "þære scire bisceop" in the letter concerning this matter (Olson 1989, p. 75). The bishopric represented by the earlier profession of Kenstec, however, is obviously different in its constitution.

[130] Olson 1989, p. 76.

bishopric (at St Germans and Bodmin)[131] or as anticipating a presumed move of the bishopric from St Germans to Bodmin due to the threat of Viking raids.[132] However, Olson suggests, for a number of reasons,[133] for *regimen* "the general meaning of 'governance.'" She argues that the phrase concerning the "regimen sancti Petroci" is meant "to put the church and governance of St Petroc under the episcopal administration and jurisdiction of the bishops of Cornwall."[134] Olson speculates that the authority of the bishopric at St Germans, although of venerable and manifest prestige,[135] was not then (and perhaps not previously)[136] unquestioned or complete over the whole of Cornwall. She concludes,

> What is envisaged here is a situation in which a bishopric centred in the 'place' of St Petroc has become defunct and been replaced by that at St Germans, but in which the house there has persisted in asserting (perhaps not all but) some claims of independent

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[131] "Vies," pp. 131-2, "almost certainly after [Charles] Henderson, The Cornish Church Guide, pp. 26-7" according to Olson (1989, p. 76, n. 111).

[132] Finberg 1964, p. 170; Olson 1989, p. 76, n. 114. See also Chaplais 1966, p. 9.

[133] Olson 1989, p. 77.

[134] Olson 1989, p. 77; Olson notes that this is "not a new suggestion", citing Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, vol. I, p. 703 and Charles Henderson, "East Cornwall: (unpublished manuscript in the Royal Institution of Cornwall Library, Truro), p. 142."

[135] The sources which mention a bishopric of Cornwall almost without exception locate this at St Germans. Dunstan's letter makes this clear, as does a (perhaps) mid-eleventh-century formula of excommunication found in the Lanalet Pontifical (Olson 1989, p. 62); see also Leland's notice and the Plympton Priory Register (above, page 68). Athelstan's charter as quoted in the Plympton Register uses the word "restore" (*restituo*) concerning the "territory of the bishopric" at St Germans (Padel 1978, p. 26); Olson argues that this language "conveys clearly that this was a pre-existing bishopric, associated with an earlier saint, to which Æthelstan restored liberties" (1989, p. 64). However, it is possible that Athelstan is referring to St Germans as the presumed place of a well-known bishop and saint, Germanus of Auxerre. This connection had already been made at St Germans, as a mid-tenth-century mass shows (Olson 1989, pp. 60-2). The second element of the medieval Cornish name of the site, *Lannaled*, is obscure (Padel 1988a, p. 87).

[136] Olson admits a potential problem in seeing early Cornish bishoprics at both St Germans and Dinuurrin (1989, p. 66).

> administration and jurisdiction over itself and the old bishopric, to the annoyance of the bishops of Cornwall.[137]

The charter, then, far from granting full episcopal status to the Cornish bishopric, merely restates its integrity, unity, and authority.

One might ask why, aside from the possible location of *Dinuurrin* at or near Bodmin, the *locus Petroci* should assert such a claim, especially as there is no hint in the *Vitae Petroci* of episcopal pretension on behalf of Petroc.[138] Either Æthelred's charter has been so successful that by the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the Lives were composed such claims have been entirely forgotten (or purged), or the legend of the saint which had accumulated to this point did not include these. However, not only does the latter part of the charter's dispositive sentence include the above-mentioned phrase, it also earlier states that the grant concerned has been made "pro amore domini nostri Iesu Christi atque sancti confessoris Germani necnon et beati eximii Petroci."[139] Moreover, the charter founding the see of Exeter (the new location for the combined see of Devon and Cornwall, moved from Crediton in 1050)[140] echoes, deliberately or not, the language of the charter in making the grant "in beati Germani memoria atque Petroci ueneratione,"[141] thus giving Petroc equal status with the patron saint of the recorded seat of the Cornish bishopric. The connection of

[137] Olson 1989, pp. 77-78. Olson notes that William of Malmesbury located the Cornish bishopric at St Petroc's, not at Bodmin but at Padstow according to his description of the site (Olson 1989, p. 70; below note 202).

[138] See above, note 109.

[139] Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici, vol. III, p. 276; Olson 1989, p. 74.

[140] see below, note 78.

[141] Sawyer 1968, no. 1021; the text is printed in Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici, vol. IV, pp. 118-121, with the phrase in question on pp. 119-120. See also Olson 1989, p. 74.

St Petroc with a Cornish bishopric by kings in charters and the almost complete lack of such a connection in texts emanating from the foundation most concerned and intending to glorify their patron saint present a puzzle which Olson's suggestion concerning a ninth-century partial move to Kenstec's residence cannot fully explain.

While both the bishop of Exeter and the canons of St Germanus held the manor of St Germans by the time of Domesday,[142] St Petroc's church at Bodmin, while certainly despoiled, retained its independence[143] and the control over many of its lands.[144] Considering the lasting fame and wealth of the foundation of St Petroc at Bodmin, its perhaps legendary associations with Athelstan, its connection (in memory if not in fact) with the Cornish bishopric which was absorbed into the new see of Exeter, and not least considering the fame of the patron saint of the foundation and the reputation of his relics, it is not surprising, then, to find Petroc not only commemorated liturgically at Exeter,[145] but also specifically mentioned in two Exeter relic-lists which purport to represent donations of Athelstan to the monastery there.[146]

The four extant medieval Exeter relic-lists claim relics of St Petroc[147] and

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[142] Domesday Book: Cornwall, 2,6. Olson describes the manor as "held by the bishop of Exeter," but notes that the canons (whom Olson describes as "a survival of the bishopric of Cornwall") of St Germanus held twelve of the twenty-four hides of the manor (1989, p. 87).

[143] Under the Normans many other Cornish religious hou became dependencies of other foundations, both in England and France (Soulsby 1986, p. 37).

[144] See Chapter IV, *passim*.

[145] See Chapter IV, pages 229ff, and Appendix II, nos. 2-4, 18-19, and 34.

[146] Athelstan is also reputed to have been the founder of a monastery at Exeter (Conner 1993, p. 23).

[147] See Appendix II, no. 34.

specifically connect the greatest part of the Cathedral's relic collection to Athelstan.[148] Although relics of Petroc were claimed by other English foundations,[149] nowhere else is the documentation so early and so insistent.[150] This is not to say that the monastery at Exeter actually possessed relics of the saint, but it is clear that the foundation believed such a claim to be credible and desirable, both before and after its elevation to the seat of the Devon and Cornwall bishopric.

The Establishment of the Site at Bodmin

Lynette Olson has argued that there is neither evidence nor likelihood that any site other than Padstow was founded by the saint himself.[151] The establishment of a community of St Petroc at what was to remain the centre of this cult in medieval and modern Cornwall, Bodmin, is clearly due to the church of St Petroc, not to the saint himself. Yet the two Lives of the saint integrate the idea of a second cult site at Bodmin into the fabric of St Petroc's biography, presenting the life of the saint as a movement inland in search of a greater solitude.[152] The Saint-Méen Life shows Petroc wishing to leave his "cellula"[153] and

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[148] See Appendix II, no. 34. Patrick Conner's argument that these lists might be based on a collection of relic labels is intriguing in light of Jean-Pierre Laporte's suggestion that a set of homogenous relic labels at Chelles suggests one large gift of relics, in th[illegible] case perhaps from Charlemagne (see Appendix II, note 78).

[149] See Chapter IV, pages 229ff and Appendix II, nos. 34-41.

[150] Nowhere, also, is mention made of Petroc's *cimbalum*, which makes its sole appearance in one manumission; see above, note 84.

[151] Olson 1989, p. 69.

[152] See Olson 1989, p. 69: "What the author of the *uita* is likely to be attempting in describing the retreat of Petroc into the interior of Cornwall--or what the hagiological tradition which he is recording has accomplished--is the association of the saint with the prominent *loci* of his cult: this is done by means quite credible within the hagiographical genre."

seeking, by the command of an angel, "a more hidden [part] of the wilderness."[154] Petroc leaves and meets Guron, who then leaves his cell to Petroc. The Gotha Life presents much the same information, relating that after sixty years spent in several foundations, Petroc again seeks a wilderness.[155] He then meets Guron, who passes the site on to Petroc, and leaves.

It is possible that behind the *Vitae* are hints of a pre-existing tradition concerning the site of Petroc's second foundation. J.H. Adams first presented evidence suggesting the existence of an ecclesiastical and secular settlement predating Bodmin immediately to the north of the town.[156] Olson notes that this site, "a ridge to the north of the church and the centre of the town ... [around which] are some place-names suggestive of fortification," is "well-suited to early settlement by its defensiveness and access to abundant water-supply."[157] On the ridge is Berry Tower, the remains of a chapel of the guild of the Holy Rood,[158] built in the fifteenth century.[159] Olson and Adams indicate the singularity of a guild-chapel being possessed of not only a tower, but also "uncharacteristically ... rights of

[153] This might be either Padstow or the unnamed foundation, which emerges in the Gotha Life as Nantfenton.

[154] see above, page 48.

[155] "Vies," p. 162 (ch. 19).

[156] Adams 1959-61 and 1962-4, *passim*. Note also the use in the Gotha Life of the adverb "primitus" (ch. 20) to qualify the inhabitation of monks at Bodmin as included in the etymology of the name.

[157] Olson 1989, p. 54 and Adams 1959-61 and 1962-4, *passim*. The names in question are Berry Lane and Berrycombe (which Adams, Olson, and Padel view as derived from Old English *burh*), Castle Street and Castle Hill. Nicholas Johnson and Peter Rose have identified a number of Iron Age and Roman-era defended settlements, including one named Berry Castle which is on elevated ground about eight miles from Bodmin (Johnson and Rose 1982, pp. 184 and 170).

[158] Adams 1959-61, pp. 243 and 245-6.

[159] Pevsner 1951, p. 33.

burial and, apparently, of baptism."[160] As Olson summarises, the buildings on this ridge must represent "vestiges of an early medieval settlement and its church, both of which came into existence earlier than the town and religious establishment in the valley below [i.e. Bodmin]."[161]

Moreover, Adams further argues that the account in the Gotha *Vita Petroci* of two foundations by the saint in the area, one on top of a northern *tumulus* by a spring and another in the valley where Guron lived, represents an inclusion of preexisting topographical and structural features into the life of the saint.[162] The passage in question states

> [Petroc] built two habitations, one upon the northern hill and another, where holy Guron had lived, in the valley near a spring. And there is still, not far from the higher cell, on the ridge of the mountain, his very health-giving spring ...[163]

The Gotha Life also states that Petroc fortified the site at Bodmin (ch. 22),[164] which can perhaps be interpreted as further explaining a memory or evidence of fortification.[165] The weight of evidence is impressive, especially given the description, in the *Miracula*, of a structure, described as both an *oratorium* and a *basilica*, on top of a hill near Bodmin on

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[160] Olson 1989, p. 54; Adams 1962-64, p. 125; and Pevsner 1951, p. 33. Joanna Mattingly suggests that several guild chapels in the vicinity of Bodmin (including the Berry chapel) "seem to have been reused Celtic sites with their own cemeteries" (Mattingly 1989, p. 299). Adams also notes the numerous chapels (of all types) with burial rights and suggests a Celtic origin for many of these (Adams 1957-60, pp. 49-50).

[161] Olson 1989, p. 54.

[162] Adams 1959-61, p. 244; Olson 1989, pp. 54-55.

[163] "... duo construxit habitacula, unum supra tumulum borealem et aliud, ubi sanctus Wronus habitaverat, in valle preter fontem. Extat et adhuc, non procul a cella superiore, in montis supercilio, fons eius admodum salubris ..." ("Vies," p. 164).

[164] above, page 49.

[165] The Gotha Life's inclusion of *lann* structures at Padstow, 'ditches' into the fabric of Petroc's life (see below, page 95) seems similarly intended.

which suppliants remain in vigil on the eve of St Petroc's feast (ch. 1).[166]

Lynette Olson finds compelling reasons for connecting this site with the place, *Dinuurrin*, recorded in the ninth century as the residence of Kenstec, the Cornish bishop.[167] The first element of the name, *din*, "is a normal Cornish place-name element meaning 'fortification'."[168] Thus a fortified site with unusual, seemingly baseless ecclesiastical rights (such as is posited for the area to the north of Bodmin) would fit the profile of the place-name elements and of the profession. Arthur Wade-Evans was the first person to connect the *Dinuurrin* of Kenstec's profession with what is now Bodmin (although he did not know of the seemingly earlier fortified site to the north).[169] The identification was originally made on the basis of the similarity between the second element of the place-name Dinuurrin and the name of the saint which the *Vitae Petroci* describe as the original inhabitant of Petroc's second cell, which was to become Bodmin.[170] The form of the eponym in the place-name presents no insurmountable barrier: Oliver Padel has suggested the emendation[171] from -*uurrin* to -*uuron*, which would give "a likely ninth-century form of Guron's name, *Uuron*."[172] Guron is also included in a list of Brittonic names of saints[173] dating (on

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[166] Adams 1959-61, p. 244. See above, notes 44, 45.

[167] Olson 1989, pp. 52-55.

[168] Olson 1989, p. 53.

[169] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, pp. 150-151.

[170] "Vies," pp. 162-163 (Gotha) and 495 (Saint-Méen).

[171] described as "plausible" and endorsed by Olson (1989, p. 53).

[172] Padel and Olson 1986, p. 61. Guron's name appears in the Saint-Méen Life as *Vuronus* and in the Gotha Life as *Wronus* ("Vies," pp. 495 and 162).

[173] Olson and Padel 1986, pp. 60-61, no. 43. The name is spelled *Guron* in the list.

palaeographical grounds) from either s. ix/x at the earliest, or s. x^1 written in an Insular hand perhaps in Brittany.[174] The exact purpose of the text is obscure, but it is certainly a list of saints associated with Cornwall.[175] The inclusion of the saint in the calendar of Bodmin Priory, viewed by William Worcestre in the fifteenth century supports the connection (or at least a perceived connection) between the eponym of *Dinuurrin*, the name found in the list, and the saint mentioned in the *Vitae Petroci*.[176]

The adoption, postulated by Adams, of a defensively situated religious foundation near Bodmin by the community of St Petroc and then its subsequent abandonment for a site in the valley more suited to large-scale settlement[177] suits the existing evidence very well. Moreover, Preston-Jones and Rose have detected a concentration of English place-names in *tūn* ('farm, manor') in the area of Bodmin.[178] As the area was "already quite intensely occupied" this seems to indicate a special English interest in the area, perhaps in Kenstec's

[174] The later date is given as "perhaps later in the tenth century" (Olson and Padel 1986, p. 38), but is revised to "hardly ... later than *c.* 950." on linguistic and contextual grounds (Olson and Padel 1986, p. 41).

[175] Olson and Padel 1986, p. 63.

[176] William Worcestre, Itineraries, p. 88: "Sanctus Woronus confessor". The connection may be made with the patron saint of the parish of Goran, near Megavissey, after whom, it would seem, a well was named at Bodmin (John 1981, p. 38). The parish possesses credible medieval documentation in its presence in the Exeter (*Sanctus Goranus* is named but without location) but not Exchequer Domesday (Olson and Padel 1986, p. 61; [Exoniensis Domesday, Cornwall], p. 61). The parish also possessed a name consisting of *lann* and the name of Goron (Padel 1976-77, p. 17). Padel has indicated his belief that in memory and legend, at least, these Gurons were seen as one (Padel 1988a, p. 89). In the early seventeenth century Nicholas Roscarrock gave the patron saint of Goran as the Welsh saint Gwrin and apparently knew nothing of the Guron honoured at Bodmin; two sources which mention Guron at Bodmin, William Worcestre's *Itineraries* and Leland's *Collectanea*, were not seen by Roscarrock (Jankulak 1994, p. 186).

[177] Adams 1959-61, p. 245 and Olson 1989, p. 55.

[178] Preston-Jones and Rose 1986, p. 142.

see.[179] The identification of Dinuurrin with a fortified site near but not at Bodmin provides an attractively economical solution to several problems: the loss of what must have been a significant place-name, *Dinuurrin*; the strange link between Bodmin's and Petroc's episcopal claims without any explicit mention of these latter in Kenstec's profession; and the presence of a bishop at a site without an explicitly ecclesiastical place-name. If one accepts this identification of *Dinuurrin*, the Gotha *Vita Petroci* can be seen not only to describe and interpret existing features of the landscape and legend, but to demonstrate that most coveted but also most elusive desideratum for scholars of Cornish hagiography: roots in an authoritative tradition.

The Name Bodmin

By the second half of the eleventh century, the name *Bodmin* appears in the Bodmin Gospels in two manumissions, one of which explicitly mentions St Petroc.[180] This name[181]

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[179] Alternatively, Preston-Jones and Rose suggest the possible settlement of wooded areas (Preston-Jones and Rose 1986, pp. 142-143). A third possibility, that Kenstec and his episcopal stature have nothing to do with St Petroc but predate the move of the community to Bodmin, would see increased English interest in the area of Bodmin as stemming from St Petroc's newly-established presence in the neighbourhood. Certainly St Petroc's foundation must have brought with it prestige and renown; Picken, indeed, has suggested that certain possessions predating Domesday (especially those in Triggshire) may have been gained only on the move of the foundation from Padstow to Bodmin (letter received from W.M.M. Picken, May 17, 1995). Thus the move from Padstow to Bodmin might have brought new prominence to Bodmin itself.

[180] Olson 1989, p. 72. The manumissions, nos. XXX and XXXIII, read "æt þære cirican dura on [or æt,in no. XXXIII] Bodmine;" no. XXX continues: "... and freode uppan Petrocys weofede." I am following for no. XXX the dating of Olson, who follows N.R. Ker (1957, no. 126, p. 159), and Henry Jenner (1922-1925, p. 248), rather than Förster ("Die Freilassungsurkunden," p. 92) and Finberg (1963, no. 89, p. 19), who date this manumission to the tenth century. Note that the witness list of no. XXX is similar to no. XXXI, which Förster dates to the end of the eleventh century ("Die Freilassungsurkunden," p. 92). No. XXXIII is likewise dated by Förster to the tenth century ("Die Freilassungsurkunden," p. 93), but is dated by Ker to the eleventh century (Ker 1957, no. 126, p. 159) on palaeographical grounds and by Olson to the same era as nos. XXX and XXXI because of the witness list (Olson 1989, p. 72).

implies a settlement very different in character and perhaps era[182] from Padstow. Although the second element is somewhat obscure, the first element is recognisably the secular **bod*, 'dwelling',[183] suggesting a secular settlement based around whatever is implied in the second element. In Cornish usage, the precise significance of this element, probably **meneghi*, is obscure. Linguistic features militate against the term representing a mere plural of the Cornish word for 'monk' (**menegh*),[184] although the term is certainly connected somehow with words representing monasticism.[185] Oliver Padel cautiously mentions but does not stress a connection to the Breton term *minihi*, merely noting the latter's definition as 'refuge, asile.'[186] The Cornish word is now usually glossed 'sanctuary',[187] but this may be somewhat misleading: while some specific aspect of ecclesiastical significance is obviously

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[181] See the list of spellings for Bodmin given by Padel 1988a, p. 55): "*Bodmine c.* 975 [in the Bodmin Gospels; this should perhaps be xi^2--see below, note 197], 1086 [in Domesday], *Botmenei c.* 1100 (*c.* 1200) [the Life of Cadoc], *Bodmen* 1253, *Bodman* 1337. *Bodmyn* 1522."

[182] Charles Henderson interprets the 'dwelling around a religious place' sense of the name as indicating a later foundation for Bodmin than for truly ancient foundations which possess names in *lann* (Henderson 1936, p. 28).

[183] Padel 1985, p. 23.

[184] letter received from Oliver Padel, June 24, 1992.

[185] letter received from Oliver Padel, June 24, 1992. See also the Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (rhan XL 1989, p. 2535) under *mynechi, menechi*, where the definition is "monasticism; ?monastery." See below, note 104, for the use of 'monastic' in the context of medieval Cornwall. The appropriateness of this usage is, I believe, supported by the derivation of such elements as **meneghi* and *manach* ('monk,' Padel 1985, pp. 136-37) from Latin roots signifying 'monastic;' this, however, is not to say that these terms indicate what one might recognise as 'monasticism.' It might also be noted that however complicated one's nuancing of such terms (such as *lann*, **meneghi*, or even *loc* in Breton), one usually ends up translating them very broadly as 'church' or 'holy place.'

[186] Padel 1985, p. 163. Padel has re-stressed this caution concerning the meaning of the term both in Cornish and Breton (letter received from Oliver Padel, June 24, 1992).

[187] Olson 1989, p. 55; Padel 1985, p. 163; Preston-Jones 1992, p. 108.

intended, the English designation 'sanctuary' does not adequately represent the idea envisioned. As Padel points out, "it is curious that the place-names containing this element do not coincide with the four privileged sanctuaries in Cornwall."[188] Here, despite Padel's misgivings, the Breton term *minihi*, at least in its interpretation, can perhaps be useful.

The term *minihi* is often interpreted primarily as *monachia*, "territoire monastique."[189] Bernard Tanguy argues that the term at first indicated an ecclesiastical domain, but was invested (chiefly and deliberately through hagiographical texts) with a sense of sacrality, of connection with the founding saint and the foundation itself of a site. The saint became, in effect, the guarantor of the sacred site, protecting "l'intégrité territoriale et [les] franchises du territoire monastique ... contre les convoitises et les usurpations des hommes, seigneurs ou manants."[190] Then, Tanguy argues, at least after the tenth century, the number of minihis multiplied as the Church sought to avert encroachment of local lords and to take advantage of the legal privileges of its *monachia* ("mis en avant par l'emploi dans les documents des substituts *immunitas* ou *asilum*"). Ultimately the institution was subject to abuse: in 1453 Pope Nicholas addressed a bull to the Breton abbey of Redon condemning the abuse of minihis by criminals.[191]

This Breton material seems to show a progression from a designation of church land

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[188] Padel does suggest that "it may be that, like English 'sanctuary', **meneghy* came to mean simply 'glebe land'" (1985, p. 163).

[189] Tanguy 1984b, p. 329; André Chédeville explains the term as one which "s'applique normalement au territoire qui appartient à une monastère; c'est la transcription du latin *monachia*, terme qui figure à plusieurs reprises dans le cartulaire de Redon. Le minihi ... designe aussi et surtout un asile, un lieu de refuge" (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 354).

[190] Tanguy 1984a, pp. 21-22.

[191] Tanguy 1984a, p. 24.

(with, perhaps only secondarily, its rights and privileges, which might well include asylum), to a sacred space encoded into the hagiographical records as the personal protection of the saint, to a feudal formalised 'sanctuary'. At no time would the notion of sanctuary be absent, but neither would it be the primary idea represented by the term.

It would be unwise to posit an exactly parallel development in Cornwall, although the temptation to explain an obscure matter with reference to a culturally similar and more fully documented area is, as always in an investigation of Celtic regions, strong.[192] However, the use of the more general 'church territory' rather than the rather specific 'sanctuary' to translate the Breton term can perhaps be commended.[193] The term **meneghi* need not imply merely (or even chiefly) 'sanctuary' or, if it does, need not indicate the legalistic "chartered sanctuary rights".[194] The **meneghi* of Bodmin can most usefully be viewed as some ecclesiastical domain, with rights and privileges implied if not recoverable in their detail.

The combination of elements in the name Bodmin implies a secular settlement around some ecclesiastical foundation; the name itself must have been coined before the term **meneghi* disappeared entirely from use and memory. This raises the question of the date of this name: it is thought to be 'late;' at least after (and well after?) this settlement came into existence. Yet there is no documented use of the term **meneghi* which suggests awareness or

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[192] As, for example, Wendy Davies has commented (1992, p. 13).

[193] Indeed, in 1988, Oliver Padel suggested that the definition "sanctuary" for the Breton term was misleading. For the Cornish term he suggested the admittedly vague and unsatisfactory "'church-land, land owned by the church'" (1988a, p. 192).

[194] Cox 1911, p. 223. Cox points to the difference "between particular cases of chartered sanctuary, and those that pertained to every consecrated church and churchyard" (1911, pp. 6-7). Padstow (but not Bodmin) notably possessed one such 'chartered sanctuary', "evidently one of great importance in the west of England in mediæval days" (Cox 1911, p. 220).

comprehension of its exact meaning.[195] The author or scribe of the Gotha Life at some time between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, for example, glossed the name *Bothmenaa* imprecisely, not to say erroneously, "id est Mansio Monachorum."[196] Moreover, by the time the name was first written in the eleventh century significant sound changes had occurred to change **meneghi* to the *mine* of Bodmin.[197]

Yet one wonders which monastic or ecclesiastical lands formed the basis for the **meneghi* found in the name Bodmin, around which the increasingly large settlement grew. That is, does the ecclesiastical character indicated by the name Bodmin date to the establishment, which has been argued above, of Dinuurrin, or does it refer to the newly-relocated community of St Petroc in the valley? There are three possibilities concerning the choice of the Bodmin site by St Petroc's church. First, there may have been some pre-existing connection between St Petroc and Bodmin other than the already established religious foundation (of Dinuurrin?). This would seem to imply a move (according to Olson a partial move) of the community of St Petroc before the time of the profession. Second, the site of Bodmin may have been selected as a new location by the community of St Petroc after Kenstec's profession because of its venerable and possibly episcopal associations. This might be the implication of the inclusion of the name of Guron, presumably with his implied

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[195] letter received from Oliver Padel, June 24, 1992.

[196] "Vies," p. 163.

[197] Padel 1988a, pp. 32-33. The dating of *Bodmine* of the manumissions to the tenth century (1988a, p. 55) has been revised. Olson (1989, pp. 71-72), Ker (1957, p. 159), and Jenner (indirectly, 1922-25, pp. 247-249) date the manumissions in question to the eleventh century, as opposed to Finberg (1963, p. 19) and Förster ("Die Freilassungsurkunden," pp. 92-93; Ker describes this dating as "palaeographically unacceptable" (1957, p. 159)). The eleventh-century date is probably correct, and suits the philological evidence better than the tenth-century date (letter received from Oliver Padel, 27 May, 1995).

although unstated episcopal connotations in the Lives of St Petroc. Third, perhaps Bodmin was selected merely because of an appropriateness of location, as the Lives, especially the Gotha Life, would ostensibly have it. This latter possibility would see the combination of suggestive traditions found in the Lives only as an attempt to integrate poorly-remembered characters into the sanctioned history of the saint.

As previously stated, the only site probably founded by St Petroc himself is Padstow.[198] Even in the *Vitae* Padstow is presented unequivocally as the original foundation of the saint, with several others, including Bodmin, as secondary. Thus the church of St Petroc at Bodmin clearly must represent a foundation of the community, not of the saint, and the narrative of the Lives must represent the hagiographer's attempt to include Bodmin in a way which would be acceptable to the foundation.

The Move of St Petroc from Padstow to Bodmin

The veneration of St Petroc was sufficiently consequential to produce a site at Padstow in the tenth century worth raiding by the Vikings. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's notice that the place of St Petroc was raided by Vikings in 981[199] lies at the heart of the argument for the early prominence of the saint and his cult, although the evidence of the manumissions is not negligible in this matter. Supplementary evidence is provided by an Old English list of resting places of saints (discussed below), which locates the relics of St Petroc at Padstow (in contrast to Hugh Candidus's twelfth-century list and the *Catalogus sanctorum*, both of which

[198] See above, page 75.

[199] Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, vol. I, p. 124: for 981, "Her on þis geare wæs Sce Petroces stow forhergod."

locate the relics at Bodmin).[200] This reinforces the view of Padstow as the primary cult site of Petroc in the tenth century.

The earliest description of a specific geographical location as the site of a significant cult of Petroc also provides reliable evidence for the presence of the relics of the saint at this location. This occurs in an Old English list of the resting places of saints, *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*, compiled *c.* 1031, although the various component pieces may be earlier.[201] Two parts are clearly distinguishable in the list, the part containing the reference to St Petroc being concerned with the tenth century reform. This list clearly situates the resting place of the relics of St Petroc 'near the estuary which is called *Hægelmuða*'.[202] Although the list does not name the site itself, *Hægelmuða* is a former name of the Camel estuary, on which Padstow is located.[203]

The *Secgan* locates the saint's relics at Padstow (although the site is not named) in the

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[200] See above, page 57.

[201] Rollason 1978, p. 68.

[202] Old English: "Þonne resteð *sanctus* Petrocus on Westwealum be þære sæ neah þam fleote, þe man clypað Hægelmuða;" Latin: "Sanctus ... Petrocus in loco qui dicitur æt Westwealum prope brachium maris quod vocatur Hægelmuða" (Die Heiligen Englands, pp. 17-18). William of Malmesbury's description of the site (see above, note 137) is very similar in its phrasing: "Locus est apud aquilonales Britones, supra mare, iuxta flumen quod dicitur Hegelmuðe" (De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, p. 204).

[203] Olson 1989, p. 70. Padel points out that the word "is a beautiful instance of a tautologous formation of the Penn Hill type," combining, as it does, the Cornish word **heyl*, 'estuary' with the Old English word meaning the same thing (1979-80, p. 244). The river near Padstow is named *Hailem* in the first *Vita Petroci*, while the metrical *Vita* in the Gotha manuscript spells it *Heyl* ("Vies," pp. 490 and 168). Padel interprets the present name of the river, Camel, (which originally referred only to the uppermost section of the river) as comprised of "*camm* 'crooked', perhaps with a river-name suffix *-el* or *-ell*; if so, then 'crooked one' simply" (1988a, p. 63). This would explain the use of the name *Hægelmutha* to describe Padstow Bay, (known as *Patystoo havyn* in 1478), for the term would refer not to the main river (having the "common Celtic river-name" *Alan* in 1200) but chiefly to the estuary or bay (Padel 1988a, pp. 50, 63, 131, and 188). At present the River Allen branches off from the River Camel just south of Egloshayle.

early eleventh century. It is, as Olson points out, "unlikely to have been incorrect about a saint whose devotees included tenth-century English kings, except perhaps in the case of a recent transfer of Petroc's remains to Bodmin following the raid of A.D. 981."[204] In addition, the presence of Padstow in this list implies a reputation outside of Cornwall, a reputation "such as the raiders [of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle] would be unlikely to ignore."[205]

In comparison, two mid- to late-tenth-century occurrences of the place-name which eventually developed into Padstow, *Petrocys stow(e)*,[206] are less ambiguous, or at least would be if one could be sure of the location of the site to which the names referred. The names occur in manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels, but Lynette Olson's contention that these refer to Padstow (and not Bodmin) is based, of necessity, not on any contextual information which might specify the site, but on her estimation of where the 'holy place of Petroc' might be located at this time.[207] The entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is perhaps more helpful: Olson argues logically that the site named as *Sancte Petroces stow* and described as destroyed by a Viking raid in this year is more likely the coastal Padstow rather than the inland Bodmin.[208]

The attempt to establish a clear chronology of evidence relating to the location of St

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[204] Olson 1989, p. 70.

[205] Olson 1989, p. 71.

[206] "Die Freilassungsurkunden," nos. XLIX and X (*Petrocys stowe*).

[207] Olson 1989, p. 72. A third instance of the name (*Petrocys-stow*) in the manumissions (no. XXXVII) refers, in Olson's opinion, to Bodmin (Olson 1989, p. 71).

[208] Olson (1989, p. 70) is, however, cautious concerning this seemingly clear piece of information: "The raid was very likely on Padstow, but the case for this should not be overstated."

Petroc's cult in the early and central Middle Ages produces some contradictory results; in part this may be due to a move of various parts of the religious community over time. The early ninth century grant of estates to the bishop of Sherborne was probably significant: after this Bodmin may have been founded or taken over by an administrative portion of St Petroc's church. Bishop Kenstec's profession, however, dated to 833 x 870 from a site which is very possibly near Bodmin, does not mention St Petroc. This makes it unlikely that St Petroc's church was present in the area in any significant sense until at least the later ninth century. Perhaps this partial move was accomplished in the early tenth century;[209] in this scenario the ninth-century grant would be seen as important but not instrumental.

St Petroc's relics seem to have remained at Padstow until relatively late: a manumission naming King Edgar and Bishop Wulfsige Comoere (thus datable to the second half of the tenth century) in the Bodmin Gospels was probably performed at Padstow ("at Petrocys stow(e)") on the relics of St Petroc.[210] Although the Viking raid on Padstow in 981 provides a plausible incentive for a move of relics, two pieces of evidence suggest that the relics were still at Padstow in the early eleventh century: the *Secgan*, *c.* 1031, locates St Petroc's relics at an unnamed site which is clearly Padstow; a manumission of *c.* 1000 was also was transacted "et Petrocys stowe."[211] Although the *Secgan*'s information could be out of date and although the manumission might have recorded 'St Petroc's holy place' for Bodmin, there is no compelling reason to complicate the matter thus. Bodmin itself appears in

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[209] See Chapter IV, pages 196ff, for the possible participation of a West-Saxon king in the move to Bodmin in the tenth century.

[210] "Die Freilassungsurkunden," no. XLIX.

[211] "Die Freilassungsurkunden," no. X.

the manumissions only by the second half of the eleventh century;[212] one of these mentions St Petroc's altar. This would seem to indicate that St Petroc's relics were by then at Bodmin. Bodmin would also seem to be the main site of the administrative portion of the foundation by at least the late eleventh century: it is placed first in the list of St Petroc's lands in the Domesday Survey of 1086.

In this context it is interesting to compare the accounts of St Petroc's death in the Saint-Méen and Gotha Lives: the first, composed presumably at Bodmin in the eleventh century, gives no information concerning the place or manner of the saint's death. The second, composed at Bodmin in the twelfth century, gives a detailed account of the saint's last days but avoids naming his place of burial. The implication of the Gotha Life is that St Petroc was buried at Padstow, although this is a matter of interpretation. Perhaps by the time of the composition of the Gotha Life, the house at Bodmin, secure in its possession of St Petroc's relics, was more willing to discuss these matters.

The Names of Padstow and Relative Dating of Cults

The name of Padstow itself is perhaps an indication of early status. Having examined place-names formed with the Old English place-name element *stōw*, Margaret Gelling argues that *stōw*, 'place', is used by *c.* 900 in documents in the sense of 'Christian holy place,' but place-names may show this meaning earlier than this.[213] Places so designated, Gelling argues, were perceived as especially significant "in the life of a wide area."[214] Gelling

[212] "Die Freilassungsurkunden," nos. XXX and XXXIII.

[213] Gelling 1982, p. 188.

[214] Gelling 1982, p. 189.

discusses several categories of usage in England of the element *stōw* with the name of a saint. The first category, in which she locates Padstow, concerns

> a small but specially interesting group in which *stōw* is combined with the name of a saint or a noted ecclesiastic to give a specific reference to a place in which the holy person worked, died or was buried.[215]

This category is small indeed, including five clear instances and three possible instances.[216] A *terminus ad quem* for such specialised coinings is offered: by the end of the ninth century, Gelling suggests, with the disruption of monastic life by the Viking raids, the specific sense of the term was lost and place-names newly coined used the term in a manner not unlike other terms, such as *cirice* and *mynster*.[217]

Gelling situates the name of Padstow in her first level of usage because of the age, prominence, and presence of relics at the site. She argues that here the use of *stōw* must signify a "place where a saint worked/died/was buried."[218] Thus, according to Gelling's criteria, this name could have been coined before the ninth century, and probably not after the end of that century.[219] Arguably, Padstow was recognised as an early religious site and, at least by English speakers, as a significant site noted for a connection with the work or more

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[215] Gelling 1982, p. 189.

[216] Gelling 1982, pp. 198-191.

[217] Gelling 1982, pp. 191-192. This "later, more generalised usage" (Gelling 1982, p. 191) provides a second category, larger than the first. It comprises five examples from various English counties, including numerous names in *stōw* in Cornwall, Devon, and Herefordshire consisting of the term and a saint's name, some of which, however, are demonstrably translations of Welsh *llan* names (Gelling 1982, pp. 191-192). See also Preston-Jones 1992, p. 109 and Preston-Jones and Rose 1986 p. 159. Susan Pearce has argued that a series of names in *stow* in north Devon (including Petrockstow) are very possibly translations of names in *lann*, showing some of the archaeological features associated with this term (1985, p. 261).

[218] Gelling 1982, p. 190.

[219] Gelling 1982, p. 190, no. 3.

likely relics of the Cornish saint Petroc.

The name Padstow experienced many permutations, especially after the fourteenth century, based partially no doubt on the similarity between the name of Petroc and the Irish saint Patrick.[220] From the fifteenth century a trend towards the current name, Padstow, is visible.[221] The combination, in the current name, of the names of Petroc and Patrick may well originate in an interruption in the nomenclature of the site caused by the removal of St Petroc's relics. By 1201, or perhaps even earlier, Padstow was known as some form of *Ealdestow*, Old English 'old holy place,'[222] a name which seems to have been commonly used for about two hundred years.[223] There is general agreement that the change in English terminology for Padstow, from 'Petroc's holy place' to 'the old holy place', implies a movement of cult and, probably more significantly, of relics.[224]

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[220] Padel argues that the *a* in the modern form "is due to an attempt to equate St Petrock with St Patrick, as shown in some spellings," but notes also that locally the form Pedrek was retained in place-names containing *Petherick* (Padel 1988a, p. 131). See also John Leland's assertion of 1542: "The toun of Padestow is ful of Irisch men" (Itinerary of John Leland, vol. I, p. 179). It is interesting to find at least one example of a similar process at St Petrox (Pembrokeshire) in Wales: in 1611 the name was recorded "St Petroce alias Patrocks," and in 1578 "St Pattriarke" (Charles 1992, vol. II, p. 732).

[221] The scribe of the fourteenth-century Gotha manuscript referred to Padstow in the margin as *Petrockestowe* ("Vies," p. 145) but the place was called *Patristowe* in 1318 and 1343, *Patrickstowe* in 1326, *Padristowe* in 1350, *Padirstow* in 1382, *Padestowe* in 1457, *Padystowe* in 1463, *Padstowe* in 1525, *Paddestowe* in 1567, *Patrickstowe* or *Paddestow* in 1591, and *Padstowe* otherwise *Petherickstowe* in 1686 (Padel 1988a, p. 131; Rawe and Ingrey 1984, p. 11).

[222] Padel 1988a, p. 131.

[223] Olson 1989, p. 69. See also Olson 1989, p. 69, n. 81, for the suggestion that the form *Ealdstou* which appears in a genealogy of Petroc in the Gotha manuscript may be older than the thirteenth century; see also "Vies," p. 188 and note 3. Other variants of the name are *Aldestow* in 1249 (Gelling 1982, p. 190), and *La Heallestow* or *Haldestowya* in 1275 (Rawe and Ingrey 1984, p. 11), *Oldestowe* in 1337 (Padel 1988a, p. 131). Förster also cites *ecclesia S. Petroci in Aldestow* for 1315 (1943, p. 91).

[224] Olson 1989, p. 69; Gelling 1982, p. 190.

Yet neither of the *Vitae* (nor, for that matter, the Domesday survey) mentions Padstow or 'Petroc's stow.'[225] The name appearing in both *Vitae* and in Domesday is some variant of *LanWethenek*,[226] from the name of Petroc's predecessor, Wethenek. The *Vitae Petroci* integrate Wethenek into the life of the saint in the same manner as Guron. Wethenek appears in the *Vitae* as the previous inhabitant of a cell at Padstow, one who agreeably concedes this cell to Petroc and after whom, at his specific request, the site is named.[227] Padel suggests a connection between this story and much of the modern interpretation of the historical evolution of the cult.[228] According to Padel, "what the anthropologist would call an 'aetiological myth'" found in the Lives

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[225] Marginal notes to the Gotha prose Life use *Petrockestowe* and *Lan Wethinoco* ("Vies," pp. 145 and 150).

[226] The name is spelled *Lan Wethinocke* in the Gotha manuscript and *Landwethinoch* in the Saint-Méen manuscript. The Exeter Domesday spelling of the name is *Languihenoc* (Olson 1989, p. 58, n. 34; see also [Exoniensis Domesday, Cornwall], p. 69); the Exchequer spelling is *Lanwenehoc* (Domesday Book: Cornwall, 4,4). See also the spellings of the name given by Lynette Olson and Oliver Padel (1986), p. 53: *Lanwethenec* in 1350; *Lodenek c.* 1540; *Laffenake c.* 1600.

[227] The Saint-Méen Life (ch. 7) reads "Petiit tamen et obtinuit quatinus locus ille, in ipsius memoriam, ab eius nomen sortiretur vocabulo. Unde etiam lingua gentis illius Landwethinoch [or Landwethmoch] adhuc usque hodie dicitur" ("Vies," p. 491). The Gotha Life (ch. 6) reads "[Wethenek] ... aliam aggreditur fundare cellam, animo exultans quia famulo Dei peregre venienti habitaculum preparasset, retento in memoriale ut ex pristini habitatoris vocabulo locus cognominaretur. Incolarum enim lingua Lan Wethinocke Cimiterium Wethinoci exprimit" ("Vies," p. 153). Notice that the Gotha Life does not include Wethenek's explicit request concerning the name of the site, but does gloss the name "Cimiterium Wethinoci".

[228] See, for example, Doble, who reads the accounts in the Lives of Petroc taking over Padstow and Bodmin from Wethenek and Guron as legendary assimilations of cult replacement, but retains the chronological ordering of the *vitae*: "This pair of legends [from the *vitae*] seems to represent the substitution of the cult of S. Petroc for that of Wethinoc and Guron at Padstow and Bodmin. They were no doubt saints of an earlier period before the invasion of the district by Petroc and his monks" (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 149). Charles Henderson accepts a similar scheme (Henderson in Doble 1938, p. 51). Thus, in somewhat circular fashion, the information provided by the text is read as reflecting a deeper historicity, a historicity which is supported and proved by the account in the text.

> may imply a slight feeling of discomfort, and thus the need for an explanation, among the early users of the names, as well as among twentieth-century scholars.[229]

One should not be lulled into an overly credulous acceptance of the simplified design of the *Vitae Petroci* of the historical replacement of Wethenek by Petroc: the integration of what evidence and lore was then available into an acceptable narrative and hagiographical pattern is not at all surprising. The *Vitae* present a deliberately tidy paradigm.

The *Vitae*'s account of the foundation of Padstow as the replacement of Wethenek by Petroc has been supported by the existence of a name for the site in **lann* + Wethenek and in the presence at the site of certain topographical features associated with the term **lann*. The term, signifying 'enclosure',[230] seems securely located in the religious toponymy of Wales and Cornwall[231] and seems to have developed along with the physical feature (itself called a *lann*)[232] which is generally characterised by a burial ground having an oval shape (often

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[229] Padel 1976-77, p. 25.

[230] Roberts 1992, p. 43 and Padel 1976-77, p. 25.

[231] It is, however, used to gloss the secular *aula* in one of the Old Welsh Juvencus glosses (Padel 1976-1977, p. 22).

[232] Charles Thomas defines the *lann* as the physical feature itself: "One can infer a semantic development from 'cleared space' to 'consecrated cleared space' (=unenclosed cemetery), thence to 'sacred enclosure' (enclosed cemetery) and finally 'church and cemetery' or even 'church site' (developed enclosed cemetery)" (Thomas 1971, p. 87). Oliver Padel, however, has argued that the prominence thus given to the cemetery, which "leaves the most obvious archaeological remains ... ignores that the primary feature must have been a place of worship" (Padel 1988a, p. 191). Ann Preston-Jones agrees with Padel, suggesting that Thomas's explanation of *lann* as 'enclosed cemetery' is "probably too narrow, since it gives weight to what may have been only one aspect of a site" (Preston-Jones 1992, p. 108). Although Padel suggested in 1988 that the element be translated "'church-site,'" I am retaining 'enclosure' (not necessarily a cemetery) as a specific aspect of the site which is among the implications of the term, due partly to the findings of Ann Preston-Jones, which indicate that "there may be some correlation between a place-name in *lann* and a curvilinear enclosure" (Preston-Jones 1992, p. 110).

raised) surrounded by an enclosure or an embankment.[233] Ann Preston-Jones, in attempting to classify various types of sites with a name in **lann*, has detected a pattern in 'early' sites. She argues that the shape of churchyards reflects their origins: rectilinear churchyards reflect the shape of buildings rather than burial grounds and represent a slightly later stage of development where "the church had superseded the enclosure as the most important aspect of a Christian site."[234] Most *lann*-sites show churchyards which are oval or sub-rectangular in shape,[235] and most are located on the bottom of a valley near navigable waters.[236] Many show evidence of outer enclosures; at least one dates as far back as the seventh century.[237] *Lanns* showing the above features[238] are described by Preston-Jones as 'early', certainly pre-Conquest.[239] Moreover, one can argue for some *lann*-churches an established tradition with early roots based on the combination of sites with names in **lann* sites possessing large estates as recorded in Domesday Book and a continuity implied by the **lann* names (usually the name of the patron saint). Both Padel and Olson note that most of the ecclesiastical foundations listed in the Domesday book (and certainly all the significant ones) possess a

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[233] Pearce 1978, pp. 67-68 and plate 13.

[234] Preston-Jones 1992, p. 123.

[235] Preston-Jones 1992, p. 116.

[236] Preston-Jones 1992, pp. 116 and 118.

[237] Preston-Jones 1992, p. 120. The possibly seventh-century enclosure is located at St Mawgan in Meneage, where an early Christian memorial stone may mark the outer boundary of the enclosure.

[238] Bodmin, it should be noted, shows virtually none of these characteristics (its churchyard, however, could be described as vaguely circular; Preston-Jones 1992, fig. 11.1).

[239] Preston-Jones 1992, pp. 109. and 120.

name formed in **lann*.[240] An uneasy consensus has evolved that *lann*-churches form an early stratum of Christian activity in Cornwall,[241] and, moreover, that certain *lann*-sites, Padstow included, are earlier than others, mostly by virtue of characteristic attributes and their status in the Domesday Survey.[242]

Padstow shows signs of the physical situation and structure found in these significant earlier churches. The enclosure at Padstow seems to have been vaguely sub-rectangular,[243] and the twelfth-century Gotha Life speaks of an outer enclosure at Padstow consisting of "very long ditches in the manner of a rampart, the ruins of which even now are apparent."[244] Currently, Padstow has several discernable concentric boundaries, perhaps

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[240] Padel 1976-77, p. 26; Olson 1989, pp. 93-94.

[241] See Padel 1976-1977, pp. 24-25: "Names in **lann* ... were probably not still being formed after a certain date (say the eleventh century, or quite possibly a good deal earlier, though this is an assumption) and are thus good evidence for early Christian activity." See also Preston-Jones 1992, p. 120 and Todd 1987, p. 241.

[242] Although Olson has deemed that a **lann* place-name element does not give "necessary or sufficient indication of monastic status, although commonly so regarded" (Olson 1989, p. 3) and although Pearce agrees (1978, p. 68), their findings do not contradict the view that most if not all early sites are *lann*s, but not all *lann*s are early (Olson 1989, p. 105 and Pearce 1978, p. 73).

[243] Preston-Jones 1992, fig. 11.11c. Padstow's *lann*-situation would also seem to suggest Welsh influence. Although most *lann* sites are dedicated to local Cornish saints, a large percentage (42%) is dedicated to Celtic saints to whom dedications are found in other areas. These latter sites tend to be larger than the former, and tend to be located on the north Cornish coast (Preston-Jones 1992, p. 119). That most of these non-local saints originate in Wales suggests to Preston-Jones a "strong and early presence from Wales in the establishment of Christianity in Cornwall" (Preston-Jones 1992, p. 120). In addition, most of these 'Welsh' *lann*s are sub-rectangular rather than oval. Padstow easily fits into this category, especially given St Petroc's Welsh background and tradition.

[244] "Vies," p. 154: "... agrorum suorum limites fossis longissimis in modum valli auxit, quarum ruine et nunc patent." See also Preston-Jones 1992, p. 120. Lynette Olson mentions the "discovery of what may be a section of the *uallum monasterii* at Padstow" (Olson 1989, p. 106); the formation in question is a raised bank in what is now, unusually, a tract of waste forest in the middle of the town. This forest borders the churchyard and seems to follow its outline, but

marking the limit of Padstow's privilege of sanctuary or its ecclesiastical estate.[245]

The combination of these elements with the prominent position accorded to the commun:ty of St Petroc (although by this time located not at Padstow but at Bodmin) in the Domesday Book suggest to Preston-Jones[246] (and to Olson)[247] the early establishment of a religious foundation at Padstow. Clearly Padstow was among the earliest foundations; how significant is it, however, that its *lann*-name commemorates a saint other than Petroc? As noted above, Padstow's nomenclature in *lann* is some variant of *LanWethenek*; Petroc is not the eponym of any *lann*-site in Cornwall. Although the presence of the name of the patron saint of a site in its *lann*-name is found in only about half of the *lann*-names currently surviving in Cornwall,[248] all of the Domesday *lann*-names (indicating the most significant churches) are formed by the term and the name of their patron saint, with one exception.[249] That exception is the community of St Petroc. Although the combination **Lanbedrek* (Lan + Pedrek) is certainly possible,[250] the **lann* name of Padstow commemorates the little-known saint named Wethenek who is given the role of Petroc's predecessor at Padstow in the Lives.

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the raised section of the bank would seem to be on the outside of where the churchyard might have run, instead of on the inside, which is where one would expect the raised *lann* enclosure to be. Yet this tract of waste in a small and crowded coastal town is certainly unusual.

[245] Preston-Jones 1992, fig 11.11c.

[246] This is implied throughout Preston-Jones's conclusion (1992, pp. 120-24).

[247] Olson 1989, p. 105.

[248] Padel 1976-77, p. 15.

[249] Padel 1976-77, p. 26.

[250] There is a Llanbedrog in Caernarvonshire, Wales (Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165). Doble states that St Petrox, in Pembrokeshire, is also known as Llanbedrog (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160), but B.G. Charles's 1992 survey of this site shows no record of this. Susan Pearce has also suggested that Petrockstow in north Devon might be a translation of a name in **lann* (see above, note 217).

The **lann* name of Padstow explicitly connects what is arguably the earliest significance of the site with the name of Wethenek. The *Vitae* apparently know no other name for the site; thus they acknowledge Wethenek's presence and significance and explain it through the actions of Sts Petroc and Wethenek. Yet the tidy paradigm of the *Vitae* and the seeming confirmation of the place-name element should not be understood as indicating a straightforward replacement of cult, that of St Wethenek (perhaps an indigenous cult) with St Petroc (the Welsh usurper). It is at least possible that the cults of St Petroc and Wethenek coexisted at what was to become Padstow; clearly, however, that of St Petroc was to become considerably more significant and ultimately overshadowed that of Wethenek. The relationships between the saints are complex; the actions of the historical saints are obscure; even the place-name evidence is subject to interpretation.

As noted above, Padel has found that in approximately half of the sites marked by **lann* + personal name, the name associated with the **lann* is not that of the patron of the site.[251] On the other hand, almost without exception, place-names in *eglos* (from *ecclesia*) + personal name commemorate the patron of the site.[252] It would also seem that *eglos* was more readily used as a separate word, rather than a place-name element, for *eglos* in place-names rarely causes lenition.[253] This suggests to Padel that the term might have been applicable to any church (*ecclesia*), **lann* or not. Thus Padel speculates that in the Middle

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[251] See above, note 248.

[252] Padel 1976-77, p. 24.

[253] Padel 1976-77, p. 24. As a feminine noun, *eglos* would tend to produce the consonantal mutations known as lenition, were it a place-name element to be combined with a second element rather than a separate word. For example, lenition changes p into b, so that a place-name made up of *eglos* and *Pedrek* would, with lenition, have become **eglos-bedrek* (the element **lann* also causes lenition; see **Lanbedrek* above, page 96). See, however, Padel's suggestion that phonological factors may have inhibited lenition in some (but not all) cases (Padel 1988a, p. 37).

Ages the descriptive term **eglos-pedrek* could have been applied to the church at Padstow contemporaneously with *Lanwethenek*.[254] Certainly this theory would greatly simplify the nomenclature of Padstow and Bodmin. If *Lanwethenek* is in some way only one possible name for the site (even the main Cornish name), the use of *Petroces stow* or even *Aldestow*[255] at the same time as *Lanwethenek* need not imply a strictly chronologically-ordered replacement of cult. This is not to say that every one of these names could be translated merely as *ecclesia*: Gelling has clearly shown that the element *stōw* in Padstow (and, by extension *Aldestow*) belongs to a specialised usage denoting the possession of relics.[256] The Old English usage stresses relics; the Cornish usage is more ambiguous. Could not also these cults have coexisted at the site, with one being perhaps more important that the other?

The cults of saints often come in groups in Celtic areas. Specifically, complexes of saints are by no means uncommon both in Brittany and in Cornwall. Saints are associated, in both regions, by explicit connections made in the hagiographical traditions of the various saints (such as we find between Petroc and Wethenek in the *Vitae Petroci*). However, there is another, perhaps complementary, illustration of the interdependence of cults, that described as

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[254] Padel 1976-77, p. 24. See, however, the comments of Ann Preston-Jones and Peter Rose (1986, p. 158) on the differences in location, situation, and shape observable in many *lann* and *eglos* sites. More recently, Preston-Jones restated her position: most *eglos*-churches resemble secondary *lann*-churches: they are inland as opposed to coastal, and their churchyards are significantly different in shape from the earlier foundations (Preston-Jones 1992, p. 123). At the very least, if a site possessed a name in **lann* this name has prevailed over a more general *eglos*-name, so that today *lann* and *eglos* churches are discernably different. This might merely illustrate the authority of a name in **lann*: see Olson's contention: "if [a religious house] bore a name in *lan*, there is no room for an alternative designation" (1989, p. 53).

[255] See above, page 91.

[256] Gelling 1982, pp. 189-90.

"recurring adjacency" by Olson and Padel:

> Two saints with adjacent dedications in one country may often turn up, again adjacent, in another part of the Brittonic world.. [this is] a geographical dimension to the dedications of Brittonic saints, and one which has struck antiquarian writers from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century.[257]

Such a geographical connection between Petroc and Wethenek, other than at Padstow, is difficult to establish, as there are at present no actual dedications to Wethenek in Cornwall.[258] However, the vicar of Padstow had a license for a chapel of a saint Withenya or Wethenya, identified with Wethenek, in 1415.[259] In addition, in the fifteenth century William Worcestre noted the inclusion of "Sanctus Wethinocus Episcopus et confessor" in the calendar of Bodmin Priory.[260] The saint's name also appears in the various relic-lists which purport to represent donations of relics to Exeter by King Athelstan.[261] In addition, the tenth-century list of Cornish saints discussed above includes Wethenek,[262] although it does

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[257] Olson and Padel 1986, p. 67. Doble had also noted this "remarkable fact" (Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, p. 45, n. 22; see also the work of Doble's executor, Rogers 1961-4, p. 60).

[258] Nor is the saint's feast commemorated in any of the English calendars examined by Francis Wormald (1934 and 1939, *passim*).

[259] Henderson in Doble 1938, p. 58. P. Grosjean, relying on S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, identifies the eponym of a chapel of St Enodoc, across the Camel estuary from Padstow in the parish of St Minver, as this saint ("Vies," pp. 152-153, n. 1), but Nicholas Orme disputes this identification (Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 131).

[260] William Worcestre, Itineraries, p. 88. The form given in the translation is misleading; the name is spelled *Winoc*, which suggests Winnoc, either a hypocoristic ('pet name') of Guénolé (Padel 1976-77, p. 17), a separate Cornish saint (Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, pp. 127-54), or even a hypocoristic of the Irish saint, Finnian (Ó Riain 1981, p. 300).

[261] Conner 1993, p. 185 (no. 110), p. 196 (no. 118), p. 204 (no. 117). See above, page 75, for Petroc's presence in these lists and note 112 for the key role which the memory of King Athelstan played in the medieval south west's interpretation of its past.

[262] See above, page 78, with reference to Guron. As Olson and Padel note, "St Petrock is conspicuous by his absence from the List (1986, p. 64).

not indicate the location of his cult.[263] The significance of an existing place-name, Trewarthenick, which is made up of the elements *tre* 'farm' and a personal name which is the same as that of the saint, is unclear.[264] The location of this site in the south-west of the peninsula about ten kilometres from Goron parish (probably the Guron of the Lives) is also interesting, but probably not overly significant, considering that the eponym of the site is, in effect, obscure. St Wethenek was, however, instrumental in the installation of St Petroc's cult in Brittany; the Breton adoption of St Petroc suggests that in the tenth century at least both these cults were present in one place (or near each other) in Cornwall and that these saints were perceived as indeed linked by tradition.[265]

At the site of Padstow two, if not three, groups of nomenclature existed contemporaneously, with Padstow becoming the main form, but with *Lodenek* and *Aldestow* persisting in memory into at least the sixteenth century.[266] John Leland, writing *c.* 1542[267] pointed to *Lodenek* as a specifically Cornish form, giving the English term as Adelstow, a mistake for *Aldestow*.[268] The form Lanwethenek persisted, but underwent significant sound changes; it is today rather anticlimactically represented only by a street, Lodenek, in a modern housing estate.[269] There is no evidence, despite the seemingly obvious implication in the

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[263] Olson and Padel 1986, p. 53, no. 28. The name is spelled *Geuedenoc* in the list.

[264] Padel 1988a, p. 172.

[265] See Chapter III, pages 148ff.

[266] See Gelling 1982, p. 190 and Rawe and Ingrey 1984, p. 11.

[267] The Itinerary of John Leland, pt. II, p. 107.

[268] The Itinerary of John Leland, pt. II p. 179. See above, note 112, for Leland's gloss on the name, "Latine Athelstani locus."

[269] Rawe and Ingrey 1984, p. 11.

Cornish language formation of the one name and the Anglo-Saxon formation of the other name, that the name 'Petroc's stow' was significant only or even mostly to an English-speaking population.[270] A recognition of (and, it seems, an utter lack of unease over) a dual nomenclature can consistently be seen. Moreover, the technical sense of Padstow's **lann*-name does not concentrate on relics as the Old English name does, and may instead refer to a different (not to say earlier) aspect of the site. Indeed, the replacement of the form 'Petroc's stow' by 'the Old stow', reinforces Margaret Gelling's argument that in this case the term 'stow' signifies a specific connection between a particular saint and a site with relics as an integral component of this relationship. The form 'the Old stow' suggests that with the loss of the community and probably the relics of Petroc, the name of the saint, and of any saint, also fell out of use, although the past significance of the site as a place of relics persisted.

The Historical St Petroc

The historical St Petroc is, like other Celtic saints, obscure. Pádraig Ó Riain has attributed the name to "a local variant of *Petrus* (from *Petr/Pedr*) 'Peter' with diminutive

[270] Although it would be presumptuous here to attempt to discuss the linguistic state of early medieval Cornwall in any detail, a few useful remarks can be presented. Martyn Wakelin argues that by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period English settlements were concentrated east of the River Ottery (well to the east of Padstow). By the period of the Norman Conquest, English had progressed as far west as the Camel (Wakelin 1975, p. 95). Although "an east-west cultural and linguistic division from quite an early date" is discernable, with Cornish predominating in the west and English in the east (Wakelin 1975, p. 96) along a line which more or less passes through Padstow (Wakelin 1975, pp. 75 and 77 n. 16), in this western area there were clearly many levels of comprehension in both languages (Wakelin 1975, pp. 82-83). Note that the *Vocabularium Cornicum* of c. 1100 includes English, French, and Latin words (Wakelin 1975, pp. 78 and 81) and that in 1339 the vicar of St Merryn (just west of Padstow) was granted a license for a helper to preach in Cornish (Wakelin 1975, p. 88). The use of both Cornish and English names by some medieval Cornishmen may also be noted here (above, note 80), as well as the mixture of Cornish and English names in the tenth and eleventh-century manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels (above, page 59).

suffix."[271] Ó Riain continues,

> This means in effect that we are dealing once more with an original cult of St Peter ... On the onomastic evidence, therefore, St Pedrog's cult [as it is known in Cardiganshire] could have originated as that of Peter the Apostle.[272]

Ó Riain has relied heavily on onomastics in explaining the history of cults of saints in Wales, and in extrapolating the origins of these well beyond the documentary evidence (which is admittedly very late). Elsewhere, for example, Ó Riain, having discerned, on the basis of onomastics, a number of originally Irish cults among the saints of Wales, argued for the initial cultural and political dominance of the Irish church in the insular Celtic areas.[273] The St Petroc/Peter debate is perhaps analogous to these 'cambricised' Irish saints: one could argue that the obscure origin of a saint is often less significant for the history of cult than the most commonly understood identification of the saint.

In this particular case, St Petroc's name certainly resembles that of St Peter with the common diminutive *-oc* (*-awg* in Welsh).[274] Certainly also St Petroc's cult has much in common with St Peter's.[275] Yet Ó Riain's description of cult in Wales (including that of Petroc's "Welsh cognate" Pedrog) as characterised by "the strong tendency towards localization of saints [that is the making of saints into local saints]"[276] should not perhaps be uncritically applied to Cornwall and Brittany. The addition of diminutive or familiar prefixes and suffixes to the name of a saint, producing a 'pet' form known as a hypocoristic,

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[271] Ó Riain 1994, p. 394; I owe this reference to Mr. Simon Young.

[272] Ó Riain 1994, pp. 394-5.

[273] Ó Riain 1981, *passim*; 1984, *passim*.

[274] Padel 1976-77, p. 17.

[275] See Chapter III, *passim*, especially pages 123ff.

[276] Ó Riain 1994, p. 394.

is common in the Celtic areas;[277] at times this would seem to produce saints who were perceived as separate.[278] Yet this practice of forming familiar names would seem to be restricted, in Cornwall and Brittany at least, to Celtic saints, and usually to local Celtic saints. There is no evidence that in Cornwall universal saints were changed into local saints with the application of diminutives (and resulting sound changes); the Breton evidence also shows no evidence of such transformations.[279] Although St Peter's cult dates from the earliest period in Brittany, he is represented in the toponymy of the peninsula only by the place-name *Ploubezre*, that is *plou-* + *Pezre* (*Pedr*) with no diminutive.[280]

At any rate, the saint who came to be known (and well known) as Petroc is a historically fixed saint in Delehaye's sense. He possesses the two crucial "coordonnées hagiographiques:" a known place of death and burial and a known month and day of death (his liturgical feast).[281] These marks of identification gave Petroc, and other saints, the authority of individual sainthood, and it is as such that St Petroc has been viewed in all his recorded and perceptible incarnations.

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[277] Examples can be found among saints of all the Celtic regions: Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, vol. II, pp. 344-5; Loth 1908, pp. 227-8; Padel 1976-77, p. 17; Tanguy 1986a, p. 26; Ó Riain 1977, p. 63 and 1981, p. 298; Morvannou 1974, p. 28.

[278] Tanguy 1986b, p. 121; Morvannou 1974 *passim* (who, however, argues in the case of Sts Guénolé and Guénaël, that the historical saints can be distinguished; 1974, p. 42).

[279] Father Job an Irien specifically cited the example of St Peter, *Per*, in this context (see Chapter III, note 74). See also Bernard Merdrignac's comments on the improbability of the replacement of a universal saint, James, with a Breton saint (Chapter III, note 335). Replacement of cult in the opposite direction, from local to universal, seems to have operated in the later period, at least after the twelfth century (Olson 1989, p. 98, n. 223; Largillière 1925, pp. 22-3).

[280] Largillière 1925, pp. 65-7; Tanguy 1981, p. 150. See Chapter III, pages 110ff, for the toponymic element *plou-*.

[281] Delehaye 1934, p. 13.

Conclusion

The foundation of St Petroc, first at Padstow and then at Bodmin, certainly dominated the ecclesiastical landscape of Cornwall throughout the Middle Ages. Its scriptorium recorded not only manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels (their mere existence, with the list of names of kings and bishops invoked itself evidence of prominence) but also the unparalleled dossier of St Petroc.[282] This suggests a renowned and wealthy foundation, as does the successful maintenance of a continuity of tradition concerning the relics of the patron and founder of the community. The persistence of the idea of an episcopal seat at a house of St Petroc also suggests wealth, power, and a renowned patron. The presence of information concerning Petroc in late eleventh-century Wales, as shown by the *Vita Cadoci* and subsequent appearance of Welsh tradition in the Gotha Life, also indicates a cult shared within a Cornish-Welsh sphere. The hagiographical texts produced by the community of St Petroc at Bodmin show the foundation there well into the process of asserting, with some success, the sanctity of its patron and the authority of his foundations within the ecclesiastical and political landscape of twelfth-century Cornwall and England.

It would be difficult, however, to pinpoint any one aspect of Petroc's reputation as responsible for the others. Does royal patronage stem from episcopal pretensions, or vice versa? Does wealth follow prestige, or are the two mutually supporting? Does successful hagiographical publicity, made possible by the existence of a scriptorium, bring fame to relics, or do relics stand alone as somehow self-explanatory? The investigation into the

[282] Nicholas Orme provides a useful summary of such medieval Cornish hagiographical texts as survived into the modern period, although he argues that destruction of manuscripts alone cannot account for the dearth of written traditions concerning Cornish saints (Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, pp. 36-37). The *Vitae Petroci* are the earliest surviving Cornish Lives, although Lives of Cornish saints Piran and Rumon (cribbed from Lives of like-named saints) were written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 37).

precise historical circumstances of the theft of Petroc's relics in 1177 may clarify some of these relationships. It is certain, however, that at the time of the theft, the community of St Petroc was solidly entrenched in a position of wealth and patronage, and was in possession of clearly identified relics.

Chapter III: The Cult of St Petroc in Brittany

Introduction

The cult of St Petroc in Brittany, like the cults of many Breton saints, is primarily represented by place-names.[1] The first step, therefore, in investigating the nature of this cult, is the description and dating of the elements of these place-names. The mapping of these sites provides a geographical description of the cult. This exercise in historical geography is based both on the location of the sites and on the dating information provided by the toponymic elements; this is in contrast to Bowen's methodology, which connects the geographical distribution to the period of the saint himself, ignoring the discernible temporal levels provided by the place-names themselves.[2] St Petroc's Breton cult, it must be stressed, shows the travels of the cult not of the saint (or his disciples).

Other sites of devotion, as indicated by the presence of the saint as patron saint of a church, the possession of relics, liturgical notices, and the inclusion of the saint in local folklore are then considered. Two related aspects of the sites' geographical distribution are significant. First, the localities honouring the saint can suggest political and familial affiliations. Second, these affiliations can be explained at least in part by associations with

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[1] Bernard Tanguy has noted the primacy of toponymy in the investigation of the ecclesiastical history of Brittany: "plus que les sources écrites, c'est la toponymie qui nous remémore ... avec une précision et une richesse sans équivalence dans le domaine français" (1984b, p. 323).

[2] See Introduction, page 1.

other saints. The concept of "recurring adjacency," (two or more saints associated in their traditions and locations of cult sites in one area can show a similar pattern of associations in another)[3] and the recognition of networks of saints and churches can help to illuminate an otherwise obscure history of popular devotion. Therefore, after the enumeration of the various types of commemoration of St Petroc in Brittany, a consideration of his traditional and geographical associations will follow. Such information, considered together with significant events in the history of the peninsula suggests dates and means of cult transmission. Ultimately, it seems quite possible, even likely, that the cult of St Petroc was well-established throughout Brittany before the twelfth-century theft of the relics.

The Nature of the Sources

The evidence for the cult of St Petroc in Brittany is similar in nature to that concerning Cornwall if different in its emphasis and quantity. The greatest part of this Breton evidence consists of dedications, place-name formations, and commemorations of indeterminate date. Although the first Life of St Petroc survives only in Breton manuscripts, the hagiographical dossier of the saint was composed exclusively in Cornwall; there is no tradition of hagiographical texts composed in Brittany. Very little medieval documentation (aside from mentions of place-names) exists for the presence of this cult in Brittany; indeed, aside from the evidence of the theft of the saint's relics and a missal of English provenance,[4] there is only one mention of the saint's name in Brittany before the twelfth century (and this

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[3] see Chapter II, page 99.

[4] This is the missal of Robert of Jumièges (Bibl. de Rouen, 274), which is of English provenance and is dated to the beginning of the eleventh century (See Appendix II, no. 13). St Petroc appears in the calendar on June 4, but does not appear in two other missals from Jumièges (Duine 1922, p. 66 and pp. 67-68, nos. XLIV and XLV).

survives only in a seventeenth-century manuscript).[5] No Lives of Breton saints mention the saint; his associations with other Breton saints can only be discerned indirectly by examining the locations of his cult sites and his associations elsewhere. Nevertheless, St Petroc is sufficiently attested in Brittany (in both the eastern and western parts of the peninsula) to be included by Breton scholars as a Breton saint.[6]

St Petroc was venerated in Brittany with varying degrees of intensity, as the miscellaneous nature of surviving evidence shows. Breton devotion to the saint can be seen in the names of towns formed with the saint's name, in the presence of the saint as patron saint of a parish or church, in chapels dedicated to the saint, in the appearance of the saint in liturgical records, and in more popular manifestations of the saint's cult, including the appearance of the saint in folk-tales and practices. Perhaps the most intriguing of these manifestations of cult are place-names formed with the name of St Petroc (which has many possible spellings in Breton),[7] for these would seem to indicate a level of commemoration which is more profound than, for example, that suggested by the inclusion of the saint's name in a liturgical calendar. The influence of a cult on the toponymy of a region would seem to suggest a culturally significant devotion to a saint, especially as medieval Brittany has been characterised as intensely attached to local saints and as reluctant to admit 'foreign' saints.[8]

St Petroc, however, is not included among the great founding saints of the period of

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[5] See below, pages 127-128.

[6] See, for example, Duine 1922, p. 146.

[7] The spellings listed by the Dictionnaire des saints bretons (1979, p. 301), for example, include Perreuc, Perech, Fezdrec, Paerec, Pereg, Perereux, Petreuc, and Petreux. The most common of these is Pereg or Perec.

[8] Smith 1990, p. 337.

the Breton immigration. These saints are mostly described as British or Irish; they make their way to Brittany via Wales and Cornwall. Their physical presence in the Breton peninsula is an integral part of their hagiographical tradition and the great abbeys or bishoprics founded by them on the continent have ensured their reputations. St Petroc visibly does not belong to this group, as he is known neither for any visit to Brittany[9] nor as the founder of any Breton establishment. Moreover, he cannot be listed among the lesser-known immigration-period (or earlier) founders of parishes whose names appear in the Breton toponymy in recognisable form as the second element of a place-name in *plou-*, arguably the earliest of the Breton medieval place-name elements.[10]

Of the many historic links between the Celtic regions of Cornwall and Brittany, that of language is the most obvious. Although in the early period of the Cornish and Breton languages (approximately from the eighth to the twelfth centuries) the languages were probably probably pronounced differently, orthographically they are difficult to distinguish.[11] This linguistic link is reflected in the toponymy of the two areas; place-name elements, however, can present a misleading unity. Cornwall and Brittany (and, for that matter, Wales) draw upon a common pool of Brythonic place-name elements in their ecclesiastical toponymy, but the significance of these linguistically identical elements must be considered separately in each individual region. The picture is complicated by historical developments which are at times parallel, and at times divergent. An example of the former is furnished by the place-name element *lan-*. This element (along with certain physical features and realtively early

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[9] See below, page 139.

[10] see below, notes 26, 27.

[11] Olson and Padel 1986, pp. 38-40.

documentation) would seem to indicate an early ecclesiastical foundation in Cornwall.[12] *Lan-* is also used as a place-name element in Brittany, and can (but need not) indicate a site of comparable date.[13] In this case, the Breton example is deemed appropriate for comparison with Cornish examples.[14] Yet notable differences in the toponymy of medieval Cornwall and Brittany lead Padel to conclude that "the 'religious toponymy' of Cornwall is closer to that of Wales than that of Brittany"[15] despite the relative linguistic proximity of Cornish and Breton languages and their relative distance from their sister-language, Welsh. One example of this difference is the virtual absence in Brittany of a significant component of medieval Cornish ecclesiastical toponymy, *eglos* (Welsh *eglwys*).[16] Two common Breton place-name elements, *plou-*[17] and *loc-*[18] present another disparity: Cornish toponymy shows only one example of each, Welsh toponymy shows none.[19] This is probably due to differing historical

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[12] See Chapter II, pages 93ff.

[13] Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 136; Gourvil 1972, p. 950.

[14] Oliver Padel, who is very conscious of the dangers of extending a phonological similarity to the semantic realm, uses the Breton definition of the term to illuminate his discussion of **lann* in Cornish toponymy (Padel 1976-77, p. 25).

[15] Padel 1976-77, p. 27.

[16] Padel 1976-77, pp. 26-27; see also Chapter II, pages 97ff.

[17] Tanguy 1981, p. 133. The spelling of the element varies considerably: Tanguy (1981, pp. 126-127) lists *plou-*, *plo-*, *pleu-*, *plu-*, *plé-*, *plau-*, *pla-*, *plan-*, *plain-*, *pley-*, *ples-*, *pli-*, *pé-*, and *poul-*. The form is cognate with Cornish *plu* and Welsh *plwyf*, both of which signify 'parish'; all three are derived from Latin *plebs* (Padel 1974, p. 77).

[18] See below, page 113, for the place-name element *loc-*.

[19] Padel 1976-77, p. 27. Padel elsewhere suggests that the sole Cornish example of *plu*, Pelynt, "is probably due to Breton influence anyway, situated as it is right on the south coast" (1974, p. 76).

circumstances in the development of Cornish and Breton social organisation:[20] the Breton *plebs* or parish was quite possibly unique in its early (that is, from the period of Breton immigration) establishment as an ecclesiastical and social body.[21] The linguistic difference is in this case an indication of a real social difference: Bernard Tanguy has stressed the contrast between the insular Celtic parish system of *lann*s and their irregular paruchiae (based on the possessions of the church and the sphere of authority of its patron saint) and the Breton parish system of geographically coherent and stable *plous*.[22] The term *plou-* became fossilised in Breton usage (and toponymy) and ultimately a word for 'parish' had to be borrowed from the French; in Cornwall the word seems to have continued in use as a common noun and thus is not preserved in the toponymy.[23]

St Petroc in Breton Toponymy

Whereas in Cornwall the chief cult-site of St Petroc, Padstow, possessed a dual nomenclature including a name in **lann-*, the toponymy, past and present, of Brittany shows no connection between St Petroc and any such formations. Although the principal significance (whether ecclesiastical or secular) of the Breton place-name element *plou-* is debatable at

[20] A number.of factors must be considered, not the least of which is Brittany's continental location and relationship with the rest of Europe. Yet this relationship is complex, as Wendy Davies's assessment of a parochial structure in eastern Brittany suggests (1983, p. 196).

[21] Davies points to the clear civil association of the Breton *plebs* as its most distinct feature (1983, *passim*); Tanguy describes the *plou-* both as the basic social unit and as an essentially Christian entity (1988, pp. 12, 29).

[22] Tanguy 1988, pp. 24, 30. But see Flatrès's discussion of the similarities between Breton and Cornish parishes (a strong communal sentiment and similar disposition of territory and the parish seat) as opposed to those of Wales and Ireland (irregular parish boundaries and a lack of a central parish church; 1956a, p. 6).

[23] Padel 1974, p. 76.

various stages in the development of the Breton parish,[24] arguably almost all ancient parishes bear names in *plou-*, and all names in *plou-* indicate ancient parishes, as René Largillière has stated.[25] Pierre Flatrès has suggested a division between *lans* and *plous* by function and not by date: the earliest Breton ecclesiastical foundations in Brittany are represented by place-names in *lan-*; place-names in *plou-* represent early parish sites.[26] Thus in Brittany *plou-* and *lan-* can indicate an early origin similar in date to that suggested by **lann-* in Cornwall.[27] St

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[24] see Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 136 for a recent summary of the argument.

[25] Largillière 1925, p. 169. As Michael Jones points out (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 136), some *plous* show an origin in the period before the Breton migration; those with the name Plounevez ('new *plou*') were clearly created later. Oliver Padel, however, dates the forms *Plounevez* to before the age of the Vikings (1974, p. 76); Tanguy would date place-names in *plou-* to the period between the immigration and the seventh century (1988, p. 21).

[26] Flatrès 1956a, p. 10. See also Couffon 1951, p. 6, where a similar scheme is suggested. The eponyms of *plous* are generally less well-known than those of *lans*: Tanguy has indicated that of the 105 names of saints provided by place-names in *plou-*, approximately one-third are unknown as saints, one-third are attested but obscure, and one-third are slightly or well known (1981, p. 153). The great founding saints are not usually commemorated by *plous*; of the 'seven founders' of Breton bishoprics (see below, page 140, 141), Corentin, Brieuc, and Samson are not commemorated by *plous* or *lans*, Paul Aurelien has *lans* but no plous, Tugdual has one *lan* only, Patern has one *lan* should perhaps be attributed to another homonymous saint, and Malo is commemorated only by *locs* (Largillière 1925 *passim*, especially pp. 25-26 and 72). This would tend to reinforce the character of *plous* as settlements (often founded by more obscure characters), whereas *lans* and *locs* seem to indicate church sites.

[27] Jones notes that some *plous*, many along Roman roads, probably predate even the Breton immigration (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 136; see also Tanguy 1988, p. 27). Couffon has pointed out that la Borderie's 'vast impenetrable forest' of early medieval Brittany is belied by place-names in *plou-*, Roman roads, and Gallo-Roman centres in this region (1946, p. 19; see also Eveillard 1975, pp. 115-16). See also Tanguy 1995, pp. x-xi and Bernier 1982, p. 31. Tanguy, however, stresses the difficulty of investigating this pre-Breton period, and urges caution concerning the early dating of certain parishes (1995, pp. xi-xii; 1988, p. 29). The question also arises concerning the *terminus ad quem* of these formations. Largillière offers a relative chronology of place-name coinings in *tre-*, *lan-*, and *plou-*: he argues that coinings in *tre-* ceased first, coinings in *lan-* next, and coinings in *plou-* last; this according to the fossilisation of each term (1925, pp. 30-33). Oliver Padel's dating of the adoption of a French word for parish to replace *plou* to the fifteenth century (above, note 23), would provide a definite (if perhaps overly late) *terminus ad quem* for this process.

Petroc, it may be recalled, was not commemorated in Cornwall by any place-names formed with **lann-*.[28] There are no place-names in Brittany formed with *lan-* and the name of St Petroc, no Breton place-names formed with *plou-* and Petroc, and there is no evidence that any site associated with St Petroc was ever so named. Breton place-names of which St Petroc is the eponym are formed in one of only two ways: with *loc-* (from *locus*) or with Saint-.

It is generally accepted that Breton place-names formed with the element *loc-* are probably later in origin than those formed with *plou-* or *lan-*.[29] Because such place-names are not found in the French-speaking area of Brittany (Haute-Bretagne)[30] except in enclaves of late Breton survival[31] while other Breton place-name formations in the region date from the period in which the Breton language was at its most extensive (most noticeably the ninth century), Largillière infers that the element *loc-* was not in use in Breton place-name formation until after the language had receded in area, a retreat which had been fully

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[28] See Chapter II, page 96.

[29] P. Quentel (1962 and 1963) presents a rare dissenting view; his arguments, however, are not convincing, in part because of factual errors.

[30] Although Breton geology naturally divides the peninsula into north and south (Galliou and Jones 1991, pp. 5-6 and fig. 1) and some earlier political divisions reflect this (Dumnonée in the north and Cornouaille in the south), subsequent administrative divisions have been arranged on an east and west plan. This plan, "which ... once broadly approximated to the linguistic division of the province between Bretagne Gallo and Bretagne Bretonnante," uses the terms Haute-Bretagne for the eastern portion of the peninsula and Basse-Bretagne for the western (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 138; see also Balcou in Fleuriot and Ségalen 1987, p. IX). Michael Jones comments: "the internal division of Brittany ... has been a political constant, mirrored in later administrative arrangements ... as well as in social and cultural differences" (1990, p. 3); Ieuan Jones notes that in the later fourteenth century Bretagne Bretonnante and Bretagne Gallo had "separate legal and financial officers" (1988, p. 61).

[31] Largillière 1925, p. 18; Gourvil (1963, p. 49) gives an enumeration by department, finding 53 names in *loc-* in Finistère, 23 in Côtes-d'Armor, 139 in Morbihan, and two in Loire-Atlantique (these last in a canton where the Breton language disappeared in the last century).

accomplished by the thirteenth century.[32] Moreover, both Largillière and Francis Gourvil note that place-names in *loc-* do not appear in any text before the eleventh century.[33] Thus these place-names are probably later than *c.* 1000.[34] Largillière has also pointed out that place-names formed with *loc-*, unlike those formed with *plou-* and *lan-*, are with one exception always followed by the name of a saint.[35] The saints so indicated, however, are not those whose cults are among the earliest and are frequently universal saints whose cults became popular only after the eleventh century, such as Mary, Michael, and John, as well as Christ.[36] Significantly, those saints (including Petroc) who are eponyms of place-names formed with *loc-* are not eponyms of those formed with *plou-*, *lan-*, or *tre-*,[37] and vice

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[32] Largillière 1925, p. 18.

[33] Largillière 1925, p. 19; Gourvil 1972, p. 952. Gourvil gives a date of 1008 as the earliest appearance of this term: *Lochmenech in Moriaco* (1963, p. 49), today Locminé in Morbihan. However, Gourvil's source is in fact a Life of Gildas (Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 914; Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 353-4), datable only to the period after 1038 (Lot 1907, p. 233). Moreover, in this place-name the second element is not a proper name but a noun; Largillière concludes that this example is of doubtful value and gives another example of the use of *loc-* in the eleventh century, *Loc Iunguorett* from a mid-eleventh-century charter in the Cartulary of Landévennec ("Cartulaire de Landévennec," no. 19, p. 558; Largillière 1925, p. 19).

[34] Bernier, however, points out that at least one name in *loc-* (Locmaze) probably dates from the tenth century (1982, p. 106).

[35] Largillière 1925, p. 17. The exception is *Locminé*, 'locus monachorum' (Gourvil 1963, p. 47), discussed above, note 33.

[36] Largillière 1925, p. 20. Both Largillière (1925, pp. 21-24) and Gourvil (1963, p. 51) suggest a link between some or all of the *loc*-names commemorating these universal saints and the twelfth-century installation in Brittany of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem. For the most part the saints who are eponyms of *loc*s are not commemorated in the Breton liturgy of the sixth to eighth centuries (Gourvil 1963, p. 51).

[37] *Tre-* is cognate to the secular terms *tref-* in Welsh and *tre-* in Cornish (see Chapter II, page 100) but with perhaps a more complex significance in Brittany (Tanguy 1984b, pp. 330-331).

versa.[38] Linguistic and cult factors, therefore, combine to suggest that place-names in *loc-* are significantly later than those in *plou-*, *lan-*, and *tre-*; certainly after the end of the tenth century.[39] However, as Largillière points out, a *terminus ad quem* is more difficult to establish. Largillière suggests as this *terminus* the end of the thirteenth century at the earliest, but urges caution: the cult of a saint can easily pre-date the formation of a place-name.[40]

The significance of the element *loc-* is clearly ecclesiastical: Bernard Tanguy compares it semantically to *lan-*[41] and Largillière views it as indicating a monastery, priory, or chapel, certainly some cult site.[42] Gourvil finds that a common link between place-names in *loc-* is the existence (or posited existence) of a chapel;[43] those *loc*s which are today parishes,[44] were, he argues, originally dependencies of an earlier parish and gained parochial status only after the fourteenth century.[45] Such parishes are small in size, with some exceptions (notably the parish of Lopérec in Finistère).[46] Therefore one can perhaps most usefully translate this

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[38] Tanguy 1984b, p. 327; Largillière 1925, pp.25-6: other saints who are eponyms of only *loc*s include Gildas, Ivy, Malo, Brigit, and Ronan.

[39] Largillière 1925, p. 27.

[40] Largillière 1925, p. 27. F. Falc'hun dates the period of the formation of place-names in *loc-* to *c.* 1050-1250 ([1954], p. XLV).

[41] Tanguy (1984b, p. 327) points out that the Life of Gildas "établie une synonymie entre le mot et le latin *monasterium* et *coenobium*;" see above, note 33, for the relevant examples.

[42] Largillière 1925, p. 17. See also Loth 1890a, p. 145.

[43] Presently most place-names in *loc-* are attached to simple chapels (Tanguy 1990, p. 23).

[44] Breton communes and parishes usually share boundaries and names (Flatrès 1956a, p. 4).

[45] Gourvil 1963, p. 50.

[46] Gourvil 1963, p. 50. See below, page 117, for the parish of Lopérec in Finistère.

element as 'secondary chapel'.[47]

Place-names formed with Saint- are clearly connected to religious and cult usage. Such formations, however, are clearly late, according to Gourvil after the twelfth century.[48] Largillière points out that names in Saint- may be translations of names formed with various Breton elements such as *lan*- and *loc*- or may indicate a later revival of previously established cults of saints who are eponyms of place-names formed with earlier elements.[49] Although a name formed with Saint- is undoubtedly later than one formed with the elements discussed above, the significance of such names for the date of the cult of the saint in question is less clear.[50]

Sites of St Petroc's Cult

There are three toponymic commemorations of St Petroc in the westernmost department of Brittany, Finistère.[51] All three place-names, perhaps significantly, are formed on the same model; two of the three are located within a 24 kilometre radius of the great medieval abbey of St Guénolé, Landévennec. The town of Lopérec[52] (hereafter Lopérec A, to distinguish it from other similarly named sites) is also the seat of the parish of the same name, its name formed from *loc*- and Petroc, the patron saint of the parish. The parish itself,

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[47] Letter received from Oliver Padel, May 27, 1995.

[48] Gourvil 1972, p. 957. See also Tanguy 1984b, p. 334.

[49] Largillière 1925, pp. 36-7, 41.

[50] Largillière 1925, p. 43.

[51] See Map 1.

[52] See the Carte de France, 1:50 000: Le Faou (1992) for Lopérec and the Chapel of St Guénolé to the east.

in the arrondissement of Châteaulin, is larger in area than most.[53] The name is attested as early as 1330,[54] and its subsequent spellings present typical Breton variations of the saint's name.[55] The present parish church was founded by the local noble family in the sixteenth century, and was restored and repaired throughout the eighteenth century.[56] Several modern statues of the saint are located in the church. One, over the western door, shows Petroc as a hermit with a beard, wearing a robe and cowl and a square bonnet. He holds a book in one hand and strokes a deer jumping against him with the other hand.[57] Another statue depicts the saint not as a hermit but as a bishop, with a bishop's staff and mitre, although with his free hand he is again caressing a deer in the same attitude as in the other representation.[58] A stained-glass window near this statue shows the saint again with a stag and a staff, but dressed as a hermit.[59] Commemorations of St Petroc are also in evidence in the vicinity of

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[53] Nomenclature [1954a], vol. I under Lopérec.

[54] Tanguy gives the form *Locus Petroci* "v[ers] 1330" (1990, p. 125).

[55] Pérennès cites an act of Pope Gregory XI, dated January 27, 1372, which mentions *loco Petroci* (Pérennès 1927, p. 297); this act is not listed by L. Mirot and H. Jassemin (Lettres secrètes & curiales du Pape Grégoire XI, 1935, p. 212) but appears in P. Peyron's list of "Actes du Saint-Siège," the sources of which include Vatican archives (Peyron 1911 pp. 242, and 1912, p. 285). Loth (1909, p. 284) gives *Locus Petroci* in 1468; Tanguy gives the same form for 1368 and the forms *Loc pezdrec* in 1426 and 1536, and *Lopezrec* in 1574 (1990, p. 125). Loth includes *Loc-Pezrec* in 1576 (1909, p. 284).

[56] Pérennès 1928, p. 247.

[57] Pérennès 1928, p. 245. See Debidour 1979, p. 116 for a photograph of this statue.

[58] C.R. John includes a photograph of this statue in her Saints of Cornwall (1981, plate 24), given as "at Loperec in Cornauaille." Another view of the church shows the statue to stand behind the main altar, flanking the east window on one side (John 1981, plate 10). Pérennès notes that older statues of Petroc and St Michael in the church were moved to the nearby chapel of St Guénolé and were replaced by 'modern statues,' but does not elaborate (1928, p. 248).

[59] The east window itself would seem to be made up of two sections; one of these shows St Petroc with the stag, but this time as a hermit (John 1981, plate 10).

the church. Pérennès recorded the existence of a fountain of Saint-Pérec about 150 metres north of the church which contained a stone statue of St Petroc and which was, in the early twentieth century, situated beside the road near the pump.[60] The fountain has now disappeared. Approximately 2 kilometres to the east of the town of Lopérec there is a Chapel of St Guénolé,[61] which would seem to have been founded in the mid-seventeenth century.[62] In the chapel is the statue of St Petroc which had previously been in the church at Lopérec,[63] and which shows the saint, here a hermit,[64] with a stag jumping against him, as in other statues in the area.[65]

There is a second Lopérec (hereafter Lopérec B) in Finistère, near the resort town of Tréboul and the fishing port of Douarnenez.[66] This tiny village[67] in the commune of

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[60] Pérennès 1928, p. 254, gives this description of the statue: "Cette statue, dont la tête de saint Pérec prend à peu près la moitié, est très curieuse. Elle porte l'inscription: St PREC."

[61] Pérennès 1928, p. 250.

[62] Pérennès 1928, pp. 251-252: An "acte prônal" of 1641 exists in which Olivier de Penguern, founder of the chapel, gave it to the parishioners.

[63] Doble describes this statue as "the curious ancient statue" (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 162).

[64] Couffon and Le Bars 1988, p. 197: "saint Pérec ermite, une biche contre lui."

[65] Pérennès 1928, p. 251. Doble notes the consistency of the iconography of St Petroc with the stag in this part of Brittany, "showing," as he argues, "how well-known the legend formerly was in Brittany" (Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 161). The 'legend,' of course, refers to an episode in the *Vitae Petroci* in which Petroc rescues a stag from Constantine and his hunters (Saint-Méen Life ch. 11, Gotha Life, ch. 12). Note, however, the rector of Lopérec's professed ignorance of the origin of this story (below, note 194). The flexibility of the saint's own status (as a hermit and as a bishop) would seem to indicate a less than perfect knowledge of the saint's history, which at no time calls the saint a bishop. Clearly some notion of a bishopric at the saint's foundation in Cornwall had percolated to Brittany; in the eighteenth century Lobineau, for example, was apparently quoting William of Malmesbury's attribution of episcopal status a church of St Petroc: "... Padstow, où le siège Episcopal de la Cornoüaille insulaire a été pendant quelque tems, selon plusieurs historiens Anglois" (Les vies des saints de Bretagne, p. 30; see Chapter II, note 137).

[66] See the Carte de France, 1:50 000: Douarnenez (1992).

Douarnenez is situated on the western Breton coast, on the Bay of Douarnenez. Although there is no church dedicated to St Petroc in the parish,[68] at Lopérec B the ruins of a chapel of St Petroc could be seen in the village at the beginning of the twentieth century. The local story relates that the chapel was constructed by a survivor of a shipwreck in the area.[69] A fountain is located fifty metres from the ruins (and a few yards from the shore).[70] It is now dedicated to St Peter and is known as *Feunteun Sant Per baoul*, the 'fountain of poor St Peter, but Pérennès insists it was always dedicated to St Petroc.[71] Near the fountain is an old statue of St Peter, which pilgrims from Douarnenez and Tréboul would visit to request a profitable fishing. In 1927, when Doble visited, the statue was surrounded by candles and flowers. Doble also heard from the sister of Canon Pérennès that the statue was flogged when the fishing was bad.[72] The dedication of the fountain to St Peter (and the presence of a statue of this saint) could easily be attributable to the similarity between the names of Peter and Petroc, but this cannot be proved. The name of the hamlet, Lopérec (or Lopaérec)[73] is clearly derived from Petroc and not Peter (*Per* in Breton).[74]

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[67] Nomenclature [1954a], Lopérec under Douarnenez.

[68] The parish church of Tréboul is dedicated to St Joseph, and there are chapels dedicated to Sts John and Theresa elsewhere in the parish (Couffon and Le Bars 1988, p. 88).

[69] Pérennès 1928, p. 243; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, pp. 162-163 (after Pérennès).

[70] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 162.

[71] Couffon and Le Bars 1988, p. 88; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 163; Pérennès 1928, p. 243.

[72] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 163.

[73] Pérennès 1928, p. 243. See also Couffon and Le Bars 1988, p. 88, for the spelling Lopaërec.

[74] Job an Irien pointed out to the author that the name of St Peter does not tend to attract diminutives such as that which forms the name of Petroc or Pérec; moreover, many parishes were later rededicated to universal saints, especially Sts Peter and Paul, a trend which affected local

The final place-name formed with Petroc in Finistère is the village of Lopérec (hereafter Lopérec C), three kilometres east of the parish seat of Saint-Yvi in the arrondissement of Quimper.[75] There is no particular indication of any cult of St Petroc in the area, and no statues of St Petroc are listed under the parish of Saint-Yvi in Couffon and Le Bars's 1988 inventory of churches and chapels.[76] Saint-Yvi was for most of its history not a parish but a trève, or sub-parish[77] of the larger Elliant, being raised to parochial status at the Concordat of 1801.[78] There are no other commemorations of St Petroc in the toponymy of

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church dedications (pers. comm.). Tanguy notes, however, that the cult of St Peter is "très ancien" in Brittany, especially in the north of the peninsula where many parishes in *plou-* are dedicated to this saint. Moreover, there is a *Ploubezre* in Côtes-d'Armor (Tanguy 1981, p. 150 and p. 154, map). Th. Jeusset perhaps overstates the case when he attributes the many Breton parishes dedicated to St Peter to the Gallo-Roman period (1935, p. 276), although the cathedral of Alet was dedicated to St Peter during this period (Bernier 1982, pp. 51-52).

[75] Nomenclature [1954a], Lopérec under Saint-Yvi. This village would seem to be too small to appear on the 1: 50 000 map of the area. From the information given in the Nomenclature it would appear on the extreme left margin Carte de France, 1:50 000: Quimper (1975) or on the extreme right of Carte de France, 1:50 000: Rosporden (1975).

[76] Couffon and Le Bars, 1988, pp. 410-411.

[77] A *trève* (a term much used in Breton ecclesiastical history) is similar to a *succursale*. According to Trésor de la langue française (vol. 15, pp. 1045-1046), *succursale* is an obsolete noun and adjective indicating a church which supplements a parish church, a chapel of ease of sorts. The French word *trève* is not commonly used outside of Brittany (being based on the Breton word *tref*, *treo*, or *tre*; Ernault 1895, p. 717 and Fleuriot 1964, p. 318), but according to Flatrès (1956a, p. 16), a trève in seventeenth and eighteenth century documents indicates the territory which depends on a succursale church. J-M. Le Mene, however, seems to distinguish between a *trève* and a *succursale*: in connection with the elevation of Saint-Perreux to status of *trève* he notes that the baptismal records date from 1603 but further states that the area was elevated to status of *succursale* in 1802, whereupon its "église tréviale devint paroissiale" (1891-96, vol. II, p. 439). He seems to use *succursale* to indicate full parish status, given the date of 1802: during the period just after the revolution many Breton sub-parishes were elevated to full parish status (as was Saint-Yvi). Alain Croix gives a definition of trève as "en fait des paroisses ... au droits incomplets" but does not indicate how this differs from a succursale (Croix [1985], no. 1, 'Carte de reperage').

[78] Couffon and Le Bars 1988, p. 410; Tanguy 1990, map, 'Paroisses et trèves en 1789.'

Finistère.[79]

To the north and east of Finistère is the department of Côtes-d'Armor (formerly Côtes-du-Nord). Within this department there are two sites named Lopérec, both of which are less securely documented than those in Finistère. The first (hereafter Lopérec D), at which there is a ruined chapel,[80] is situated in the parish of Plévin in the arrondissement of Guingamp.[81] The exact form of the name of this tiny village, however, is unclear; the Nomenclature des hameaux, écarts et lieux-dits des Côtes-du-Nord gives the name as *Loperhet*, which represents *loc* + *Berhet* (Brigit).[82] There are several instances of the place-name Loperhet, attesting to the popularity of St. Brigit in Brittany.[83] The second Lopérec in Côtes-d'Armor (hereafter Lopérec E) is a town of medium size on the north coast in the commune of Trélévern.[84] To

[79] Baring-Gould would locate a church of St Petroc (under the name Pirric) at Plouguin, in the north of Finistère (1901, p. 12). However, the "éponym supposé" of the site is a saint 'Kin' (perhaps instead the Breton word *kin*, 'beautiful'), and the parish is now dedicated to St Peter (Tanguy 1981, p. 145).

[80] Couffon 1939, p. 71; Pérennès 1938, p. 50. According to Pérennès, the walls of the chapel at the time were about one meter high.

[81] The site was located by Pérennès in the parish of Paule (1938, p. 50). Bernard Tanguy, however, pointed out that the site was mislocated (letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993). The site, Lopérec or Loperhet, does not appear on the 1:50 000 map of France: Carte de France, 1:50 000, Rostrenen (1992); according to the Nomenclature, however, it is five kilometres south of the town of Plévin.

[82] Nomenclature [1953a], Loperhet under Plévin; letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993. The *b* in *Berhet* becomes a *p* after *loc-* through a phonological mutation known as provection, in which a voiceless consonant causes a following consonant to become unvoiced.

[83] See Loth 1908, p. 234. Michel Duval notes that St Brigit is, like St Petroc, the eponym of place-names which are formed only with *loc-* or Saint-; the cult has produced no place-names in *plou-*, *lann-*, or *tre-* (1977, p. 437). St Brigit, however, is quite popular as a patron saint of fountains in the west of Brittany with seven fountains under her patronage, where St Petroc has none (Denefle 1983, p. 33). There is a statue of St Brigit in the chapel of St Guénolé at Lopérec A (Pérennès 1928, p. 251).

[84] Nomenclature [1953a], Lopérec under Trélévern.

the east there is a town named Saint-Guénolé.[85] A destroyed chapel at Trélévern was either dedicated to St Petroc or St Peter.[86] There is no other documentation for this site.

To the south of Côtes-d'Armor and to the east of Finistère is the department of Morbihan, which shows two commemorations of St Petroc in its toponymy. One site in this department bears two names, one formed with Saint and another formed with *loc-*. Saint-Pierre/Lopérec is in the parish of Locmariaquer and is located, as are so many other such sites, near a large waterway: it is situated on a peninsula between the Golfe du Morbihan and the Baie de Quiberon.[87] The name of the site on the map produced by the French government in 1981 is Saint-Pierre/Lopérec,[88] but the name given by the government-sponsored survey of place-names of 1954 is Saint-Pierre alone.[89] According to Bernard Tanguy this latter form is now more common.[90] Yet the form Lopérec is securely attested as early as the sixteenth century.[91] Although Loth lists this site under those commemorating St Brigit (thus as Loperhet),[92] Tanguy is confident that the previous forms of the name indicate

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[85] Carte de France, 1:50 000, Perros-Guirec (1992).

[86] Couffon 1940, p. 80 (St Peter); letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993 (St Petroc).

[87] Carte de France, 1:50 000, Auray. (1981).

[88] See above, note 87.

[89] Nomenclature [1954b], Saint-Pierre under Locmariaquer.

[90] letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993.

[91] Tanguy gives the forms Lopéazrec from 1591 and Locpérec from the eighteenth century and notes that a Pardon is celebrated the Sunday after ascension, which, as Doble notes, often falls near June 4, St Petroc's feast day (letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993; see also Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 164).

[92] Loth 1908, p. 234. Other accounts of the place-name include that of L. Rosenzweig who gave the forms Lopérech and Saint-Pierre (1870, pp. 168 and 254), that of Le Mene in the nineteenth century who gave the current spelling as *Loperech* but noted an older form, *Locperhet*

St Petroc.[93] A well and chapel in the village are dedicated to St Peter.[94]

The dual nomenclature of Lopérec/Saint-Pierre is suggestive: if the cult of St Peter is indeed of early origin can other sites dedicated ostensibly to St Petroc be attributable to confusion between Sts Peter and Petroc or vice versa?[95] St Peter's position as patron saint of fishermen complicates the picture, for St Petroc is also frequently and specifically associated with the sea and those rescued from it in his Cornish hagiography, both in the *Vitae* and in the *Miracula*. The striking coastal distribution of cult sites could be due to this aspect of St Petroc's cult or to this aspect of St Peter's cult; in this case we would view a cult of St Peter as having been overtaken by St Petroc's cult. However, the trend throughout the Middle Ages was toward the replacement of Breton saints by universal saints, St Peter in particular.[96] Perhaps the best explanation for the coastal distribution of these sites is provided by the maritime paths connecting Cornwall and Brittany (as well as other regions on the Atlantic and connected seas).[97] The form of devotion to the saint, as opposed to the distribution of the sites, can be explained by some transference of attributes between Sts Peter and Petroc.

(1891-1896, vol. I, pp. 463 and 465), that of l'abbé Luco who gave the spelling Loperech (1908, p. 336), and that of Gustave Duhen who reproduced the spelling *Locperhet* (1932, p. 92). These myriad forms, showing well the potential confusion between various historic forms of such place-names, no doubt led M. Desmars to argue that the site had originally been dedicated to St Brigit and had passed to St Peter, to whom he attributes a form *Loperrec* (1924, p. 144).

[93] Letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993.

[94] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 164; Le Mene 1891-1896, vol. I, p. 463; Duhem 1932, p. 92.

[95] This is not to say that a cult of St Peter became a cult of St Petroc, or vice versa, but that the association of the two saints may have affected the associations attributed to each saint.

[96] Duine 1906, p. 1; Job an Irien, pers. comm. See also Largillière 1925, pp. 56, 58, 60, 61, 64, 65, and 68 for examples.

[97] Bowen 1977, p. 23, fig. 4; see below, page 125, for foundations along the River Oust. Cassard has also indicated the ubiquity of the sea and the coast in the life of medieval Breton monasteries (1987, *passim*).

Just across the River Oust from the great medieval abbey of Redon is the rather small commune and parish named Saint-Perreux.[98] Formerly a *trève* of the parish of Saint-Vincent-sur-Oust[99] and raised to parish status in 1802,[100] the site was also known as Ressac.[101] St Petroc is the patron saint[102] and eponym[103] of the site; his status as eponymn of the site is attested from the fourteenth century.[104] Yet the dual nomenclature, Saint-Perreux and Ressac, is intriguing.[105] The termination *-ac* has been taken as evidence of a Romance-speaking population living amongst newly arrived Brittonic emigrants, or as evidence of Gaulish survival.[106] The name Ressac, in any case, was probably generated during the Gallo-Roman period, and no doubt predates the admittedly late form Saint-Perreux. The name

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[98] Carte de France, 1:50 000. Redon (1977); Nomenclature [1954b], under Saint-Perreux; Le Mene 1891-1896, vol. II, p. 438.

[99] Duhem 1932, p. 186.

[100] Le Mene 1891-1896, vol. II, p. 439.

[101] Rosenzweig 1870, p. 254. Loth and Grosjean (after Loth) give the form as Renac, which is incorrect (Loth 1909, p. 284; "Vies," p. 482; letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993).

[102] Le Mene 1891-1896, vol. II, p. 438.

[103] Tanguy 1992, p. 332; Loth 1909, p. 284.

[104] Tanguy gives the spelling *Saint Perreux* in 1345, and *Saint Perreuc* in 1398 (letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993; the latter form also appears in Luco 1908, p. 838, as appearing in the "les archives du château de Castellan).

[105] A sixteenth-century list of the benefices of the diocese of Vannes appended by M. Aurelien de Courson to his edition of the Cartulary of Redon includes "Saint Vincent, avec Saint-Perreuc et Ressac, ses trèves" (Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, pp. cccliv and 501), which would seem to imply two separate sites. This is probably an error.

[106] Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 138; Tanguy 1988, p. 11.

appears in charter no. 334 (undated) of the Cartulary of Redon as *Resac*.[107] This charter concerns lands given to the abbey of Redon in the ninth century by a person named Treanton;[108] these lands include *Resac* and various other sites whose names are no longer extant.[109] The area in question is clearly Saint-Perreux. After the achievement of parish status a new parish church was built in the village of Abbaye in 1860. The old trevial church became a chapel but was soon abandoned.[110]

Doble has noted the striking number of dedications to Welsh saints who are also venerated in Cornwall and Somerset in the Oust Valley in the vicinity of Saint-Perreux and Redon. Across the Oust from Saint-Vincent-sur-Oust is a chapel of St Méen, and further up the Oust is Pleucadeuc,[111] whose name connects St Cadoc with one of the earlier Breton

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[107] Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, no. 334, pp. 284-285. This no doubt is behind S. Baring-Gould's statement that the site is named in the Cartulary of Redon around the year 862 (1901, p. 12), although there is no date on the charter itself and the editor does not venture a suggestion (Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, p. 620).

[108] as attested by charter no. 74, dated to between 859 and 865 (Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, p. 58).

[109] Laigue 1941, pp. 106-107.

[110] Le Mene 1891-1896, vol. II, p. 439 and Duhem 1932, p. 186. This would seem to contradict an anecdote related by Doble: in 1934, Doble relates, he was informed by the rector of the church at Saint-Perreux that his request to dedicate the newly relocated and rebuilt church to St Petroc had been denied by diocesan authorities who argued that the saint did not exist (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 161, n. 48). The only rededication and relocation seems to have been that of 1860, although both Le Mene and Duhem note that careless construction of the 1860 church has twice necessitated major repairs (Le Mene 1891-1896, vol. II, p. 439; Duhem 1932, p. 186). Yet, although St Petroc is clearly the patron saint of the parish, the parish church may or may not now be dedicated to the saint: Luco speaks of "l'église paroissiale et celle de Saint-Perreux" (1908, p. 838).

[111] This site is attested as early as the ninth century, but its church is now dedicated to St Peter (Tanguy 1981, p. 136)

onomastic elements, *plou-*.[112] Other similar saints, including St Jacut, are patron saints of neighbouring parishes.[113]

The department of Ille-et-Vilaine lies along the north Breton coast, to the east of Côtes-d'Armor. Within this department there is only one toponymic commemoration of St Petroc. In the parish of Plerguer is a town named Saint-Pétreux[114] which takes its name from a priory of Saint-Pétreuc.[115] The priory was a dependency of the nearby abbey of Notre-Dame-du-Tronchet;[116] its first recorded prior was installed March 1, 1457.[117] In the early twentieth century Doble saw remains of the priory church (which had been converted into a house)[118] and a well bearing the saint's name.[119] This site is not only near Dol, the seat of St Samson, but is also near the presumed Roman road running from Avranches to Corseul.[120]

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[112] See above, page 112. There is no church or chapel dedicated to St Cadoc in Pleucadeuc (Duhem 1932, pp. 122-123).

[113] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, pp. 164-165; Doble 1937, pp. 26-28.

[114] Nomenclature [1953b], Saint-Pétreux under Plerguer; Carte de France, 1:50 000. Dinan (1992).

[115] Guillotin de Corson, 1880-1886, vol. II, p. 248 and vol. V, pp. 480-481.

[116] Tronchet was founded in the first half of the twelfth century by Alain of the Anglo-Breton Fitzflaad family, and was endowed with English lands and Breton churches (Guillotin de Corson 1880-86, vol. II, p. 219; Jones 1988, pp. 87-88; Rocher and Trévinal 1983, p. 299).

[117] "Vies," p. 483; Guillotin de Corson 1880-1886, vol. II, p. 249.

[118] Guillotin de Corson 1880-1886, vol. V, p. 249.

[119] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 163.

[120] Banéat 1973, vol. III, pp. 116 and 121; Eveillard 1975, p. 121, fig. 19; Aumasson 1987, p. 61, fig.

Extra-Toponymic Indications of Sites

Other types of commemoration are less striking: one assumes that the inclusion of the name of a saint in the name of a place indicates a relatively deep association with that saint at the time of the establishment of the Breton toponymic landscape (at least in the case of place-names not obviously derived from names of nearby priories). Yet the earliest written evidence of the cult of St Petroc in Brittany (showing evidence of a Breton cult before the theft of the saint's relics) occurs at a site at which Petroc is patron saint of the church but is not commemorated in the name of the place.[121] This is in the town of Trégon in the commune of the same name (Côtes-d'Armor), which is located less than one kilometre from the Baie de Beaussais.[122] At the west of the bay is a small peninsula on which is located the abbey of Saint-Jacut-de-la-Mer. There is no sign of any place-name formed with Petroc in the parish or commune of Trégon.[123] St Petroc, however, is the patron saint of the parish church of Trégon.[124] A bull of Pope Alexander III of June 4 1163 confirming the possessions of the abbey of Saint-Jacut mentions among these an *ecclesiam Sancti Petroci*.[125] The nineteenth-

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[121] Several sources give other instances of Petroc as patron saint of a church but not eponym of the place-name: according to Sébillot Petroc is a local patron saint at Châteaulin in Finistère (Petite légende dorée, p. 151; see also Pérennès 1928, p. 243; "Vies," p. 486 (after Sébillot); Dictionnaire des saints bretons 1979, p. 302). There is no evidence of this, however, and the present patron saint of Châteaulin is St Idunet (letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993). The possible presence of St Petroc at Trébédan is more complex and is discussed below, page 142.

[122] Carte de France, 1:50 000. Lamballe (1974). Tanguy notes that the name Trégon "n'apparaît qu'assez tardivement dans les documents" and interprets its components as Old Breton *treb* 'hamlet' and "sans doute" *cun, con*, 'summit' (1992, p. 332).

[123] Nomenclature [1953a], under Trégon.

[124] There is a statue "moderne" of the saint in the church (Couffon 1940, p. 66).

[125] Anciens évêchés, vol. IV, p. 278; Paris, BN ms. lat 12675, f. 249. June 4 is St Petroc's feast day.

century editors of the collection identify this church of St Petroc with Trégon;[126] this parish church was a dependency of the abbey of Saint-Jacut until the Revolution.[127]

Doble, Grosjean, Loth, and Tanguy find this identification more or less satisfactory based on no evidence other than the bull[128] (which exists only in seventeenth-century copies);[129] other evidence does suggest that St Petroc was indeed patron saint of the church of Trégon.[130] Grosjean suggests, rather ambiguously, that the bull "peut-être considérée comme transcrivant un pouillé de cette maison," but does not comment on the date of the manuscript.[131] Papal registers were certainly not regularly kept at this date, and Alexander

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[126] Anciens évêchés, vol. IV, p. 257 and n. 2.

[127] Lemasson 1989, p. 479.

[128] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 163; "Vies," p. 482 and n. 4; Loth 1909, p. 284; Tanguy 1992, p. 332.

[129] There seem to be two copies of this bull. One is at Paris, BN Ms. lat. 12675 (Monasticon Benedictinum, vol. XVIII, upon which the editors of Anciens évêchés based their edition), f. 249, (Ramackers 1933-58, vol. 5, p. 56); a note in the manuscript describes the bull as having been culled from "l'histoire du Royal monastere ... composee par fr. Noël Mars religieux Benedictini de la Congregation de Saint Maur " (BN ms. lat. 12675, f. 246). There would seem to be another copy in the Archives départmentales d'Ille-et-Vilaine at Rennes, in the holdings of the diocese of Saint-Malo under G 73 (Ramackers 1933-58, vol. 5, p. 49). Both date from the seventeenth century. The material in the departmental archives, however, is not merely a copy of the Maurist materials gathered together in the Monasticon Benedictinum; other materials under the G 73 shelf mark are unknown to this collection. Guillotin de Corson cites information in the departmental archives, under the G 73 shelf mark, which gives the rather well-known story of the tenth-century refounding (after the destruction of the monastery by Vikings) of Saint-Méen by the abbot of Saint-Jacut, Hinguéten, at the request of Alain III, duke of Brittany (1880-86, vol. II, pp. 123-124). The Monasticon's account of Saint-Jacut includes a list of abbots, but this list (after Jacut) begins in 1079 and explains, "l'on ne trouve point qui luy [Jacut] seccéda ny les abbes suivans jusque en 1079 ou environ" (BN ms. lat. 12675, f. 267).

[130] The evidence does not entirely agree: according to Doble a twentieth-century calendar of Saint-Brieuc gives Petroc as the patron saint of Trégon (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 161, n. 48) but Bernard Tanguy notes that the church was dedicated to St Peter between 1741 and 1767, then to Petroc in 1829, and today is dedicated to the Virgin Mary (letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993).

[131] "Vies," p. 482, n. 4.

III's bulls are not preserved in original copies.[132] The manuscript used by the editors of Anciens évêchés, a volume of the Maurist collection *Monasticon Benedictinum*, contains copies of scattered materials found in various Benedictine abbeys and no doubt copied more or less scrupulously.[133]

Another site is indicated only by a remembered commemoration of St Petroc. In the commune of Plunéret (in Morbihan) are the ruins of an isolated chapel (in the village of Mané-Goulio)[134] which was dedicated to St Petroc, here as St Pérech or Pérec.[135] Pérennès describes this as a "chapelle frairiale;"[136] it previously depended on the Château de Treulan (located just north of the village) and was rebuilt in the seventeenth century.[137] The parish of Pluneret, named 'supposedly' after a St Enoret, is now dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul.[138] When Doble visited the site in 1934, the owner of the Château de Treulan showed him a

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[132] Boyle 1972, p. 104.

[133] The Monasticon Benedictinum was assembled in order to supply materials for a continuation of the Maurist projects *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti* and *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (Delisle 1897, p. 241; Becquet 1963, p. 325). See below, note 144, for another volume of the Monasticon Benedictinum, and below, notes 161-162 for another Maurist collection. Another collection, possibly Maurist, is discussed below, note 148.

[134] Letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993. The chapel is not indicated on the 1:50 000 map of France, but the village, described by Tanguy as 4 kilometres north-west of Plunéret, must be that named as Mané Gourio on this map: Carte de France, 1:50 000. Auray (1972). The form given by the Nomenclature series ([1954b] under Pluneret is Mané-Goulio, that given by Doble is Mané-Goulien (1960-70, pt.4, p. 164).

[135] Rosenzweig 1870, p. 254; Loth 1909, p. 284; "Vies," p. 482 and n. 3 (after Loth). Luco rather ambiguously describes the chapel as "chapelle de Saint-Pérech sous le vocable de Saint-Pierre" (1908, p. 595).

[136] Pérennès 1928, p. 254.

[137] Carte de France, 1:50 000. Baud (1992); Duhem 1932, p. 144; Doble 1960-70, pt.4, p. 164.

[138] Tanguy 1981, p. 140.

statue of St Petroc which had previously been in the chapel and was then in his hay loft.[139]

Other Commemorations of St Petroc: Relics

Breton foundations claiming relics of St Petroc must be considered, although clearly the question of relics, especially at the abbey of Saint-Méen, is more relevant to subsequent chapters.[140] Briefly, however, the long history of the relics of St Petroc at Saint-Méen begins but does not end with the twelfth-century theft and recovery of the saint's relics. The printed Offices of 1769 of Saint-Méen[141] give a very brief summary of St Petroc's travels (and include the saint's meeting with an unspecified St Samson)[142] after which the theft of the relics is mentioned; the restoration to Bodmin is not mentioned and some portion at least of the relics (the "corpus") is said to remain at Saint-Méen.[143]

A. Guillotin de Corson read in a seventeenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale that in 1646 the abbey of Saint-Méen possessed what was identified as the head of St Petroc.[144] The information provided by this inventory does not coincide with that

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[139] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 164.

[140] See Chapters V and VI.

[141] See below, page 135 and note 167.

[142] One assumes that the episode has merited mention in such an otherwise brief catalogue precisely because the saint is assumed to be Samson of Dol, but he is not explicitly so identified.

[143] The fifth of twelve lessons provided for the feast of St Petroc notes the theft of the saint's relics and states that these are still kept at the abbey with great veneration: "... corpus eius ad Gaëlense Sancti Mevenni monasterium delatum fuit, ubi religiose asservatum colitur" ("Vies," p. 484).

[144] Guillotin de Corson 1880-1886, vol. II, p. 125, n. 3; "Vies," p. 481, n. 2. A. de La Borderie seems to have seen the same manuscript: see Duine 1922, p. 198, n. 1. Grosjean gives the shelf mark as Paris, BN ms. franç. 12685 ("Vies," p. 481, n. 2), but the manuscript in question now bears the shelf mark BN ms. lat. 12685. It is vol. XXVIII of the manuscript collection Monasticon Benedictinum (see above, note 133; Delisle 1863, p. 68). Paris, BN ms.

furnished by the *De furto*: according to the latter Henry II sent a rib in a silver shrine to Saint-Méen after the restoration of the relics.[145] Guillotin de Corson also noted (without indicating his source) that among the relics deposited in four busts of silver in 1791 were the heads of St Méen, of St Judicaël, and St Austell, and a portion of the skull of St Petroc.[146] Another manuscript which furnished Guillotin de Corson with details of the theft of St Petroc's relics,[147] Paris, BN ms. franç. 22358,[148] explained the contemporary presence of St Petroc's relics at the abbey thus:

> Si on voit donc aujourdhuy a l'Abbaye de saint Méen deux reliques de le saint [Petroc] il faut supposer que le prieur de Bomines aura gratifié l'abbé de S. Méen de quelque portion des reliques qui luy furent restituées.[149]

It would seem that the author of this near-apologia was aware of a dubious aspect of the

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lat 12685, f. 5v notes the presence of "le chef de St Petreux ou Petroc;" f. 7 includes the date of 1646.

[145] See Chapter I, page 29.

[146] Guillotin de Corson 1880-1886, vol. II, p. 125, n. 3. The depositing of relics of 1791 may have formed part of measures taken by the French parliament to prepare an inventory of monastic property following legislation of 1789 and 1790 concerning the ownership of ecclesiastical assets (see McManners 1969, especially pp. 26-32). An inventory exists, for example, for the abbey of Landévennec in the Archives Nationale (F 19 602 no. 10); the abbey's possessions were being sold from 1790 to 1804 (Dizerbo, Tanguy, and Simon in Simon *et al* 1985, pp. 150 and 177-198).

[147] Guillotin de Corson 1880-1886, vol. II, p. 130.

[148] This volume forms part of a late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth-century collection (BN ms. franç. 22308-22359) of papers of the Maurist historian Lobineau and several colleagues (Delisle 1868-1881, vol. II, p. 70; see La Borderie 1880 for Lobineau and his collaborators). Within this collection are several volumes (BN ms. franç. 22356-22359) entitled *Abbayes de Bretagne* and described by Omont as "recueil de mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Bretagne" (Omont 1897-1902, vol. I, p. 486).

[149] Paris, BN ms franç. 22358, f. 29. The account of the theft furnished by the manuscript includes almost no information that is not present in Roger de Hoveden's accounts except the name of the abbot of Saint-Méen at the time, Robert. The manuscript also includes list of abbots of Saint-Méen (ff. 27-28v) and Abbot Robert is attested by charters elsewhere (Guillotin de Corson 1880-1886, vol. II, p. 130).

abbey's possession of these relics. Yet the abbey seems to have persisted in its claims: the continuing presence of the skull at Saint-Méen was cited in the 1836 re-edition of Lobineau's Les vies des saints de Bretagne by the abbé Tresvaux.[150]

Finally, purported relics of St Petroc form part of the history of the parish church of Lopérec A in Finistère.[151] Evidently this church was active in collecting relics, at least in the nineteenth century. H. Pérennès notes that in 1875 the "vicaire général" of the parish, a M. Fleiter, obtained relics of St Petroc from Godefroy de Saint-Marc, the archbishop of Rennes. These relics were borne in a solemn procession each year on the day of the Pardon. The parish also claimed other relics, both universal (those of St. Lawrence and of the True Cross) and local (those of Sts Corentin and Guénolé).[152]

Other Commemorations of St Petroc: Liturgy

The only traces of the cult of St Petroc left to consider are those which are perhaps at the most extreme ends of devotional practice: on the one hand official liturgical commemoration, on the other hand popular legend collected for the most part within the last two centuries. The surviving liturgical records are, for the most part, later than the time of the

[150] "Vies," p. 481, n. 2.

[151] Mont Saint-Michel also apparently claimed to possess a relic of St Petroc at least in the fourteenth century; a 1396 inventory of extremely varied relics housed in a gilded lead shrine includes relics "de sancto Petrocho" which Dubois views as a result of the 1177 theft (1966, pp. 532, 579) However, later lists omit these relics (Dubois 1966, pp. 535, 591). The medieval calend[illegible] m Mont Saint-Michel do not mention St Petroc (Lemarié and Tardif 1966, pp. 292-3).

[152] [illegible]s 1928, pp. 248-249.

theft of St Petroc's relics.[153] Three Breton litanies of saints, one dating from approximately the tenth century and two from approximately the eleventh, do not mention St Petroc.[154] Later liturgical records which include St Petroc mostly come from churches which show some historical connection with sites dedicated to the saint; he does not seem to have been widely venerated in Breton liturgy.

A fifteenth-century psalter of English origin was at the abbey of Saint-Jacut-de-la-Mer in 1574 when the saints in the calendar were augmented with the feasts of Breton saints honoured in the abbey.[155] The June 4 feast of St Petroc (with three *lectiones*) appears among these additions.[156] A printed Breviary of the abbey of Saint-Malo includes the feast of St Petroc in the summer section, without assigning to it a precise date.[157] This Breviary bears the date of 1537, but no name or mark of the printer, nor place of printing.[158] A manuscript Missal of Saint-Malo of the fifteenth century includes the June 4 feast of *Petrocii abbatis*;[159] a seemingly lost printed Breviary of the same abbey of 1489 may also have included this feast.[160] The abbey of Saint-Gildas-des-Bois (Loire-Atlantique) possessed in the seventeenth century a Legendary, now lost but apparently dating from the twelfth or

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[153] Guillotel (1977, p. 34), points to "la disparition des archives anciennes des cathédrales d'Alet, Rennes, Saint-Brieuc, Tréguier, des abbayes de Léhon, Saint-Jacut, Saint-Méen, par exemple."

[154] Loth 1890b, *passim*.

[155] Duine 1922, p. 145, no. CLVI, Bibl. de Rennes ms. 15938.

[156] Leroquais 1940-41, vol. II, p. 178, no. 391; Duine 1922, p. 146.

[157] "Vies," p. 485, n. 1.

[158] Duine 1906, pp. 64-65, no. 26, Bibl. de la ville de Saint-Malo.

[159] Duine 1922, p. 192, no. CCXLIII, Bibl. de Chartres, ms. 536.

[160] Duine 1906, p. 64, no. 25; Duine 1922, p. 193, no. CCCLIV ("au *Musée Bollandien*.").

thirteenth century,[161] which included a Life of St Petroc among others.[162] Although this part of the textual tradition is only now attested by a seventeenth-century abbreviation,[163] the abbreviation shows the text to have been a complete version of the Saint-Méen Life.[164] Yet the abbreviation can be shown to have been made from a version of the Life slightly different from the only complete copy presently existing.[165]

Finally St Petroc was liturgically commemorated at the abbey of Saint-Méen-le-Grand, where the relics of the saint finally settled for their stay in Brittany. Until the seventeenth

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[161] Duine 1922, p. 172, no. CCXXI. Duine posits this Legendary from information found in Paris, BN ms. lat 11777, ff. 108-109^v, 194-197, which is contained among "les matériaux réunis [in the seventeenth century] par les Mauristes en vue de leurs publications" ("Vies," p. 134). The materials in question, BN mss. lat 11760-11779, are described as "Vies de saints receuillies par les Bénédictine, XVIIe s;" ms. 11777 "renferme surtout des renseignements bibliographiques" (Delisle 1863, p. 18). This consists mostly of letters from various abbots sending to the Maurists inventories of their libraries. The list concerning Saint-Gildas-des-Bois includes some extracts of the Life of St Petroc. That concerning the monastery of Saint-Méen (in the same hand as that of Saint-Gildas-des-Bois) does not include a Life of St Petroc (f. 110), although one exists in the abbey's sixteenth-century Obituary (see below, page 135).

[162] Grosjean ("Vies," p. 134) quotes the section of BN ms. lat. 11777 (f. 108) pertaining to the abbreviated Life of St Petroc contained in BN ms. lat 11770. Other Lives mentioned in this description of the lost manuscript include those of Sts Melaine, Judoc, Gildas, Brigit, John of Beverley, and Alban (Duine 1922, p. 172). Several chapters of the Life of St Gildas which appear in Mabillon's version of 1688, but which do not appear in his source (Lot 1907, pp. 207-208), seem to have come from a Legendary of Saint-Gildas through an intermediary manuscript compiled in 1668 at Saint-Gildas (BN ms. franç. 16822; Lot 1907, p. 210). Lot argues that Mabillon had recourse to a Legendary of Saint-Gildas-des-Bois via an intermediary, the Maurist Dom Noël Mars, a Benedictine monk of Saint-Maur and procurer of the Abbey of Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys since 1650 (Lot 1907, pp. 220-222). Is this Legendary that abbreviated in BN ms. lat. 11770, and is Dom Mars in fact the abbreviator? Also intriguing in this connection is the contention of A. de la Borderie that hymns published by him in the late nineteenth century were "tirées du légendaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Gildas-des-Bois, ms. du XIIe siècle" (as quoted by Duine 1922, p. 263, n. CCCLXXVI).

[163] Paris, BN ms. lat 11770, ff. 1^r-2^r.

[164] "Vies," pp. 471-472.

[165] "Vies," p. 472, n. 1.

century (and, according to Doble, probably until the dissolution of the abbey at the French Revolution)[166] the feast of St Petroc was observed with the same solemnity and ritual as that of St Méen, the patron saint of the abbey. The *Officia propria* of the Abbey, printed in 1769 and much reduced in the number of Breton feasts, still included the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[167]

A sixteenth-century Obituary of the Abbey of Saint-Méen (Paris, BN ms. lat. 9889)[168] provides not only the sole complete text of the first Life of St Petroc, but also a calendar which provides for the reading of the saint's "hystoria propria." This manuscript also contains Lives of Sts Méen, Judicaël, Judoc, and Alan, bishop of Quimper. The calendar[169] included in this manuscript includes the June 4 feast[170] in twelve lessons: "xii lect*iones* in

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[166] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 135.

[167] Duine 1906, p. 63, under no. 24; "Vies," p. 484. In these Offices, the fourth and fifth of twelve lessons (printed by Grosjean, "Vies," pp. 484-485) summarise the Saint-Méen Life closely, although the fifth states that the saint was buried in his monastery, *Lodericium*, today called *Bodminia*, on the coast of Cornwall. The confusion of Bodmin and Padstow shows little knowledge of the saint's Cornish cult; the use of the name *Lodericum* must derive directly or indirectly from William Camden's Britannia (col. 11), perhaps via Dom. Lobineau's influential Les vies des saints de Bretagne (p. 30) which mentions *Loderic* and *Laffenac*. The fifth lesson finally states that the saint's cult is widespread in Brittany and on the Norman coast.

[168] "Vies," p. 470-471.

[169] Grosjean notes that his account of the calendar of the sixteenth-century obituary (here discussed) is based on Duine's account of the manuscript (BN ms. lat. 9889). Yet Lobineau published what was described as this same calendar and dated it to the fifteenth century (Les vies des saints de Bretagne, appendix). Differences between Duine's account and Lobineau's text suggest to Grosjean the use by Lobineau of an different (and earlier) model for the calendar ("Vies," p. 482, n. 1). Duine argued in 1906 that Lobineau had published "un calendrier ... lequel suppose un bréviaire, qui est perdu malheureusement" without specifying the manuscript (1906, p. 61, no. 24); in 1922 he presented a slightly different opinion, stating that Lobineau merely edited "imparfaitement" the calendar in the Saint-Méen Obituary (1922, p. 198, no. CCLXVIII). It would seem that Lobineau did not present Paris, BN ms lat. 9889, but Bibl. mun. d'Angers ms. 115, discussed below, page 137.

[170] Duine 1922, p. 199.

cappis quatuor cum hystoria propria ut est. acceduntur cerei xviii."[171] Doble notes that "the rubric is the same as that for the patronal festival of S. Mevennus [Méen]."[172] Grosjean notes, however, that the feast of St Méen includes the bearing of relics and that of St Petroc does not.[173] Moreover, a feast with wine is stipulated in honour of St Méen but not in honour of St Petroc; there is altogether much more detail concerning the preparation of the feast of the patron saint of the abbey than for St Petroc.[174] Much of the detailed liturgical provision of St Petroc's feast, however, appears not under his June 4 day but under September.[175] Provision was made to celebrate the feast on the first vacant feria in September if the June 4 feast fell during the octaves of the Ascension, of Pentecost, or Corpus Christi.[176] The calendar as a whole, however, shows the liturgical commemoration of St Petroc on a level of that of other significant saints of the abbey, most notably its founder St Méen and its saintly royal patron Judicaël (whose Life also appears in the

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[171] Paris, BN ms. lat 9889, f. 81v; Duine 1922, p. 198, no. CCLXVIII.

[172] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 135. The description of the feast of St Méen also includes the reading of the "hystoria propria" of the saint (f. 82); that of the feast of St Malo also includes the same detail, although a Life of this saint does not appear in the manuscript (Duine 1922, p. 200).

[173] "Vies," p. 482. The entry on the feast day of St Méen (June 21) states "Ad processionem portantur reliquie et caput sancti meuenni" (f. 82r). The entry for the translation of St Méen (January 18) includes a similar stipulation: "Ad processionem defertur caput sancti et magna crux et brachia" (f. 73v). See above, page 130, for various claims of Saint-Méen to possess relics of St Petroc.

[174] Paris, BN ms. lat. 9889, f. 82r.

[175] Paris, BN ms. lat. 9889, ff. 94-95.

[176] The calendar includes Petroc's feast, "si prius non fuerit factum" (Duine 1922, p. 199; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 135).

manuscript).[177] Moreover, the feast of St Petroc is liturgically more significant than that of other great Breton saints such as Gildas, Jacut, and Guénolé (all of whom are provided with "xii lectiones simpliciter").[178]

A fourteenth-[179] or fifteenth-century[180] Breviary of the abbey of Saint-Méen (thought by Duine to have been lost)[181] again places St Petroc in the highest liturgical veneration: the feast provides for four copes; that of the translation of St Judicaël provides only for three.[182] St Petroc is invoked in the litany; his feast appears in the Sanctoral and in the calendar on June 4, which notes that twelve lessons are to be provided.[183] The twelve lessons are furnished in the Sanctoral of the manuscript; these reproduce the Saint-Méen Life up to the end of the third chapter, but then stop.[184]

Finally, an eleventh-century Sacramentary (Paris, BN ms. lat. 11589) which may or may not represent the usage of the abbey of Saint-Méen[185] shows for June 4 not the feast of

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[177] For the role of Judicaël in the hagiography of St Méen see Doble 1960-70, pt. 5. pp. 44-45. Judicaël's relics are discussed in Chapter V, pages 244ff.

[178] Duine 1922, pp. 199-200.

[179] "Vies," p. 470; Leroquais 1934, vol. I, no. 12, pp. 24-26.

[180] Duine 1906, no. 24, p. 61.

[181] Duine 1906, p. 61. The manuscript, preserved in the Bibliothèque municipale at Angers (no. 115) had been attributed to Saint-Nicholas of Angers ("Vies," p. 471; Leroquais 1934, vol. I, pp. 24-26).

[182] Duine 1906, p. 61.

[183] "Vies," p. 471; Leroquais 1934, vol. I, pp. 24-25.

[184] "Vies," p. 471. Grosjean argues that "il est clair que la suite se lisait au choeur pendant l'octave."

[185] Duine (1922, p. 23, no. XXI) merely attributes it to Breton exiles in "une église du nord de la France"; Grosjean ("Vies," pp. 479-480) would seem to prefer the Saint-Méen provenance based on the opinion of Victor Leroquais, an opinion which, Grosjean notes, Leroquais revised

Petroc, but that of St Gudwal;[186] it does, however, list Wethenek's on November 11.[187] From this, Grosjean argues, one can deduce that the feast of St Petroc may indeed have been introduced at Saint-Méen after the theft of the saint's relics.[188] This argument, however, rests on the acceptance of the manuscript's Saint-Méen provenance.

Outside the great abbeys, most of the sites dedicated to St Petroc observed one or both of his possible feasts. The Pardon of St Petroc at Lopérec A was, in the eighteenth century, celebrated on June 4, but by the early twentieth century was observed on the last Sunday of September.[189] According to Tanguy, a "frairie de Lopezrec" was celebrated at Lopérec E.[190] The village of Saint-Pierre/Lopérec celebrated a Pardon at the chapel of St Peter the Sunday after the Ascension, which often falls near June 4.[191] A Pardon was celebrated at the chapel of St Pérec in Plunéret the third Sunday in September.[192]

Other Commemorations of St Petroc: Legends and Folklore

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to accord with Duine's (Leroquais 1924, vol. I, pp. 110-113 and vol. III, p. 285; Leroquais's revision is noncommittal). Fawtier accepts the Saint-Méen provenance (1925, pp. 210-202, n. 1), but Smith (1990, p. 315, n. 26) agrees with Duine in rejecting the Saint-Méen provenance. Deuffic (1985, p. 311), however, states confidently: "origine: sans doute d'abbaye de Saint-Méen, du moins un monastère du diocèse de Saint-Malo".

[186] Gudwal's feast as listed in BHL (nos. 3687-90) is June 6; the calendar of the Saint-Méen Obituary places St Gudwal's feast on June 7 (Duine 1922, p. 199).

[187] Paris, BN ms. lat. 11589, ff. 4v and 90v. Wethenek's feast is usually November 5 (Duine 1922, p. 26).

[188] "Vies," p. 480.

[189] Pérennès 1928, p. 244.

[190] letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993.

[191] See above, note 91.

[192] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 164; letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993.

Evidence of popular commemoration of the saint, specifically the diffusion of stories involving the saint as tales or legends, is sparse. Indeed, at a site (Lopérec A) at which St Petroc is commemorated in many ways (as patron saint, eponym of the parish and town, in statues, in the liturgy, with a well, and even with relics), the saint's legend had been significantly abbreviated at least by the early twentieth century. When G.H. Doble visited Lopérec A in the first half of the twentieth century, he received from the rector a pamphlet which included a brief life (the *Buez Sant Perec*) and a hymn, both in Breton.[193] From these, Doble concluded that "the story of the patron saint has evidently been largely forgotten at Lopérec."[194] According to Doble, the *Buez* included only the briefest details of the saint's life, his birth in Wales and visits to Rome and Jerusalem, but added that the saint came to live in Brittany, in the diocese of Quimper (in which Lopérec A is located).[195] The notion that Petroc visited Brittany is not unprecedented, but cannot be said to form part of widely accepted tradition concerning Petroc in Brittany; its diffusion is clearly circumscribed and marginal.[196] The lack of a tradition of the living saint's physical presence might account for

[193] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 161.

[194] The rector of the church at Lopérec, moreover, admitted to Doble that he did not know why Petroc was represented with a stag (Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, pp. 161-162).

[195] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 162. Doble quotes Lobineau as saying that a *Vita* in use at Saint-Méen stated that the saint lived as a hermit "dans la Cornouaille de l'Armorique" (Les vies des saints de Bretagne, p. 30). An undated list of Addenda and Corrigenda to the 1938 edition of Doble's study adds "But I think Dom Lobineau really refers to the First *Life* and has confused the two Cornwalls [the Cornish Cornwall and the Breton Cornouaille]." The author consulted Doble's own library (now housed at the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro) including Doble's copy of Lobineau; in the margin of the account of St Petroc is a notation by a "recteur" (who signs the first page with the date 1839) that the saint was thought to have visited Plerguer (Les vies des saints de Bretagne, in the Royal Institution of Cornwall, p. 30).

[196] The saint's presence in Brittany is only mentioned at Lopérec A, perhaps in some text read by Lobineau (but see above, note 195), and in an account of the saint found in an early nineteenth-century collection: after the usual abbreviation of the saint's life, the collection adds

the infrequent appearances of St Petroc in Breton folklore. A tale collected by Anatole Le Braz in the late nineteenth century concerns St Petroc only inasmuch as the protagonists of the tale, Sts Kadou and Leyer, were described as brothers of St Guénolé "qui demeurait à Lopérec".[197] This, of course, refers also to Lopérec A, near which there is a chapel of St Guénolé. Such is the surviving folklore collected in Finistère concerning St Petroc.

St Petroc does appear in a fully-realised folk-tale from Morbihan. Paul Sébillot reproduces a legend which Alfred Fouquet collected in the nineteenth century[198] between Plouermel and Josselin (somewhat north and west of Saint-Perreux), that of "The Seven Saints."[199] In this tale a Queen of Ireland attempts to murder her seven sons at birth by ordering them thrown into the water. She is foiled by her husband, the king, who discovers their nursemaid on the way to the river where she intends to set the seven afloat like Moses. The seven are given to nursemaids and upon reaching adulthood are brought into their mother's presence. As she cannot recognise them, the king sentences the queen to death and promises to fulfil his sons' wishes. At this the seven beg the king to spare the queen's life and allow them to retire into religious orders. The king allows this on condition that one of these stay with him. Thus six saints (the saints are here, for the first time, named), Sts Maudé, Congard, Gravé, Perreux (Petroc), Gorgon, and Dolay depart for Brittany; St Jacut

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rather dubiously "on prétend que Perreux fut plusieurs années dans la Cornouaille gallicane" (Vies des bienheureux et des saints de Bretagne, p. 126). No doubt the similar terminology for Cornwall and Brittany (in Latin and in French, although not in Breton), and the lack of any standard form of reference to each has inspired much of this confusion.

[197] Le Braz 1937, pp. 25-27.

[198] Alfred Fouquet, Légendes du Morbihan (1857), pp. 63-66, according to Sébillot (Petite légende dorée, p. 150).

[199] Petite légende dorée, pp. 146-150.

stays in Ireland, is forced to marry, but ultimately abandons his sinful wife and flees to Brittany. The rest of the story concerns the death of St Jacut, after which the saint, on the road to Paradise 'which, as everyone knows is strewn with brambles, stones, and thorns' shrewdly and rather vindictively tosses the largest of the stones upon thieves below responsible for his death, killing them.

St Petroc is certainly no more than a name in this tale. Moreover, the form of the name is the same as that found in the name of the nearby site, Saint-Perreux. The object of the tale, which explains practice at a local well, concerns only St Jacut. This group of seven saints and this version of the tale are not overly common in Brittany.[200] Sébillot notes that chapels dedicated to the Seven Saints throughout Brittany are dedicated to a more conventional group of seven, the seven founders of the Breton dioceses: Sts Corentin (Quimper), Pol de Léon (Léon), Tugdual (Tréguier), Brieuc (Saint-Brieuc), Malo (Saint-Malo), Samson (Dol) and Patern (Vannes); none of these appear in our tale.[201] One suspects that Petroc here was a convenient local patron saint (as were the others)[202] in a story of only local interest and nothing more.

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[200] Milin notes a nineteenth-century folktale concerning the parish church of Brest, which follows a similar story, although the characters are no longer kings, queens and saints but a calumniated wife and her seven children (1989, pp. 133-4).

[201] Petite légende dorée, pp. 150-151. Sanctuaries of these saints form the *Tro-Breiz*, a pilgrimage around Brittany which was especially popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Calvez 1936, p. 9). There is also another commemoration of seven saints, these the seven martyrs of Ephesus of the third century, commemorated by a chapel at Stiffel in Côtes-d'Armor (Viaud 1966, p. 599).

[202] Petite légende dorée, p. 151. Sts Maudé, Congard, and Jacut are well-known; Sts Gravé, Gorgon, and Dolay are obscure although the parishes of Saint-Dolay, Saint-Gorgon, and Saint-Gravé in Morbihan bear their names (Rosenzweig 1870, pp. 246 and 249; Loth 1908, pp. 229, 277, 290, and 302). There is considerable disagreement concerning the probable eponyms of these latter three parishes: see especially Le Mene 1891-1896, vol. II, pp. 369, 384, and 389 and Loth 1908, pp. 229, 245, 290; 1909, p. 311, and the Dictionnaire des saints bretons 1979, p. 164.

Bernard Tanguy, however, has suggested that this tale, when placed alongside another legend, shows a suggestive replacement of cult. Tanguy notes that a story which appears in Flodoard's *History of the Church of Reims* concerns seven different saints from Ireland, one of whom is St Petran, "éponyme probable de Trébédan" (Côtes-d'Armor).[203] Saint Petroc has often been described as having been the patron saint of Trébédan,[204] but this, according to Tanguy, is unlikely.[205] The parish church of Trébédan is now dedicated to St Germain who is one of the seven saints of this version of the legend.[206] However, there is in the church of St Germain at Trébédan "une statue ancienne de saint Pétroc, à coté de celle de saint Germain;" this, according to Tanguy, "ne serait pas fortuite."[207] Whatever assimilation of cult might have occurred here, from St Petran to St Petroc, or vice versa, is difficult to trace as St Petran himself is somewhat obscure. The father of the Breton St Patern is named *Petranus* but also known as Peran.[208] The forms *Péran, Peran,* and *Perran* appear in Cornish and Breton place-names,[209] including one possibly formed with the early Breton

[203] Tanguy 1992, p. 333. The other six are Gibrian, Helan, Tresan, Germain, Veran, and Abran (Tanguy 1992, p. 313). The account appears in Bk. IV, cap. ix of Flodoard's *History* and in the *vitae* of Gibrian and Tresan; see Kenney 1929, pp. 183-184.

[204] Petite légende dorée, p. 151; "Vies," p. 486 (after Sébill[illegible] [illegible]ictionnaire des saints bretons 1979, p. 302. Doble had also noted this commemoration, but i[illegible] third edition of his study on St Petroc he corrected his earlier editions and stated that he [illegible] find no authority for St Petroc's status as patron saint of Trébédan (Doble 1960-7[illegible] [illegible]4, p. 163, n. 52 and 1938, p. 43, n. 5).

[205] letter received from Bernard Tanguy, October 21, 1993.

[206] Tanguy 1992, p. 322.

[207] Tanguy 1992, p. 322.

[208] Duine 1918, p. 155, no. 177.

[209] Smith gives the following list for Brittany: *Plédran*, in the arrondissement of Châteaulin, *Péran* and *Saint-Perran* in Plédran, *Saint-Péran* in Glomel and in Plounévez, *Saint-Peran* in Paimpont, *Prat sant Peran* in Paule, *Loperan* in Saint-Malo-des-trois-Fontaines, *Lopéran*, today

element *plou-*[210] (although Tanguy disputes this identification).[211] These place-names, however, probably refer to at least two saints: the Breton Petran and the Cornish Perran or Piran (whose tradition has to some extent been assimilated with that of the Irish saint Ciaran). Piran/Ciaran's cult in Brittany can be linked with that of St Ké, whose late Life includes a disciple of the saint named *Kerianus*.[212] This cult would seem to be distinguishable from that of St Petran from the location of its sites in relation to other cults; that of St Petran seems much less widespread, as would be expected with a saint who has no written tradition and is now noteworthy only as the father of another saint.[213] Only a full study of the cult and the individual sites, however, can untangle the several homonymous saints here represented.

The area around Dol-de-Bretagne (Ille-et-Vilaine), which itself is near the Rance estuary, Dinan, and other sites significant in the theft of the saint's relics, shows in the modern period more signs of devotion to the saint on a popular level than other cult sites in

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Port-Louis. In Cornwall he finds *Perranarworthal*, *Perranuthnoe*, *Perranporth*, and *Perranzabuloe* (1966, pp. 96-97).

[210] *Plédran* has been interpreted as **Plou-*[or *Plé*]*-Petran* by Largillière (1925, p. 231) and by Smith, no doubt after Largillière (1966, p. 96). The parish of Plédran is just south of the city of Saint-Brieuc; see the Carte de France, 1:50 000. Saint-Brieuc (1974).

[211] Tanguy indicates a saint Odran as "éponym supposé de *Plédran*." He gives the forms *Pludran* in 1304, and *Pledren, Ploedran* in 1371 (1981, p. 149). Job an Irien agrees, stating that there is no *plou-* place-name commemorating St Peran (an Irien n.d., p. 31). The parish is today dedicated to St Peter (Tanguy 1981, p. 149).

[212] an Irien n.d., pp. 31-35, maps on pp. 18 and 25.

[213] Of all the potential sites listed above (see note 209), only that today known as Port-Louis in Morbihan is attributed to St Petran (as opposed to Piran/Ciaran) by Loth. Earlier forms include *Loc-pezran* in 1423 and *Lopéran* in 1446 (Loth 1909, p. 284). The sites attributed by Tanguy in Côtes-d'Armor to a saint with a name formed with Petran, Trébédan and Saint-Brandan ("jadis *Saint-Bédan*) should perhaps be added to this list (1992, p. 322).

Brittany. At Saint-Pétreux (about eight kilometres south-west of Dol), the saint was invoked in the nineteenth century against fever.[214] At Dol itself Duine found the family name *Petreuc* preserved amongst obits of the fifteenth-century.[215] In addition, Duine recorded that in the nineteenth century, small rolls were sold at Dol as "pains de Saint-Pétreu."[216]

Saintly Associations: the Example of St Samson and Dol

The number of prosaic incorporations of St Petroc into the daily life and lore of Dol is striking, the more so as St Petroc's liturgical presence at the cathedral is negligible. Indeed, Duine, basing a list of saints honoured in the diocese of Dol on liturgical practice, could only cite for St Petroc a link between the saint and the founder of the diocese, Samson, formed "par la légende populaire."[217] A survey of documents concerning the history of Dol (including an *Inventaire* of 1400, another of 1440, and *Statuta Ecclesiae Dolensis* c. 1510)[218] shows no significant liturgical commemoration of St Petroc.[219] Moreover, although "l'église de Dol se flattait de posséder les reliques les plus rares et les plus précieuses,"[220] those of St Petroc are not among the many relics so claimed.[221]

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[214] "Vies," p. 487 and Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 163 after Duine 1899, p. 408 and 1899-1900, p. 300.

[215] Duine 1922, p. 139.

[216] "Vies," p. 487 and n. 2 after Duine 1899-1900, p. 300.

[217] Duine 1922, p. 139; see below, note 224, for this popular tradition.

[218] this latter would seem to be the same as the text known to Duine as *Statuts synodaux de d'évêque Mathurin de Plédran* of 1509; see Duine 1922, p. 144 no. CL.

[219] Guillotin de Corson 1880-1886, vol. I, p. 537.

[220] Duine 1899-1900, p. 491.

[221] Guillotin de Corson 1880-1886, vol. I, pp. 529-537.

The inclusion of St Samson of Dol in the Gotha *Vita Petroci*[222] is the most tangible claim made by St Petroc's hagiographers to a link between Petroc and Brittany. However even this remains an indirect claim, since the meeting between the saints takes place not in Brittany but in Cornwall. The Breton hagiographical tradition, so eager to develop networks of saints, knows nothing of this connection. None of the Lives of St Samson, from the seventh to the twelfth century,[223] mentions St Petroc or connects St Samson with Cornwall in anything other than a transitory fashion.

The sole Breton evidence of a connection between Sts Samson and Petroc is a tradition preserved by Duine in the late nineteenth century at Dol that St Petroc, who in this version lived near Dol, loaned his donkey to St Samson, to assist in the construction of Samson's cathedral.[224] Only for St Petroc would the donkey transport the stones necessary for the building of the cathedral.[225]

The apparently tardy identification of the hermit Samson who lives on the shore of the River Camel in the earlier Saint-Méen *Vita Petroci* with the Breton bishop, as found in the

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[222] The Saint-Méen Life includes a hermit, Samson, living on the shore of the River Camel in Cornwall; the Gotha Life explicitly identifies this Samson with the Breton bishop (Chapter II page 46).

[223] BHL, nos. 7478-7484 and 7486; Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, nos. 858 and 950-1. The dating of the first Life is controversial: in 1912 the respected Robert Fawtier "sema le plus profond émoi chez les partisans traditionelles" (as Joseph-Claude Poulin (1977, p. 3) phrases it) by dating the Life to the late eighth or early ninth century (La vie de S. Samson, p. 76), a date which Poulin extended to the mid-ninth century (Poulin 1987, p. 721). Other scholars accept a seventh-century date, although some rather uneasily Hubert Guillotel (1977, p. 43) is the most vigorous proponent of an early seventh-century date; others endorse the seventh century less enthusiastically (Brett 1989, p. 17; Bernier 1982, p. 62; Smith 1985, p. 56; Merdrignac 1985-86, vol. I, p. 33; Wood 1988, p. 381). Most recently, Pierre Flobert has argued for the early or mid-eighth century (Flobert 1992). See Poulin 1987, pp. 726-731 for the later lives.

[224] This must be the link formed by "légende populaire" cited by Duine (see above, note 217).

[225] Duine 1903, p. 439.

later Gotha *Vita*, suggests at least the possibility that an actual or perceived connection between St Petroc and St Samson of Dol did not form part of an earlier Cornish tradition. The desire of the twelfth-century Gotha Life of St Petroc to improve upon the earlier Saint-Méen Life can perhaps explain the provision of the Samson of the Life with an impressive (and quite possibly accurate) pedigree, that of St Samson of Dol.[226] Yet this association, for the most part, seems to have remained in Cornwall.

The absence of St Petroc in the hagiography of Dol suggests that this connection between Samson and Petroc was unknown before the twelfth century. Indeed, although in other departments the saint is commemorated in small towns with place-names formed from *locus*, such place-names are absent in Ille-et-Vilaine (the department in which Dol is located). The only place-name formed with the name of St Petroc in Ille-et-Vilaine is Saint-Pétreux, a town which takes its name from a priory. Other commemorations of the saint in this department are liturgical celebrations at great abbeys, commemorations which for the most part can be directly connected with the theft of the saint's relics. In this context, the assimilation of St Petroc into the commonplace folklore of Dol can be seen as a reflection (and that a late one) of a late liturgical cult.

Yet Dol's status as an unusually constituted diocese with many scattered enclaves, may complicate this picture.[227] Not only was Saint-Pétreux in the actual diocese of Dol, but

[226] This is not to say that the chapel of St Samson near Padstow (Chapter II, page 46) which was no doubt responsible for the inclusion of a Samson in the Saint-Méen Life of St Petroc, did not originally honour St Samson of Dol, whose passage across Cornwall along the "prehistoric transpeninsular route between the Camel and the Fowey" (Olson 1989, p. 13) is not here in question (see also Tanguy 1992, p. 291).

[227] Guillotel (1977, p. 31) points out that enclaves are common in pre-revolutionary France; the diocese of Dol, however, was unique amongst such dioceses in the large number of such enclaves which are located in six other Breton dioceses.

the abbey of Saint-Jacut-de-la-Mer, at which St Petroc was liturgically commemorated, was an enclave of Dol in the diocese of Saint-Malo at least by the early tenth century,[228] and, Guillotel has argued, possibly during the Carolingian period.[229] At the time of its restoration in the early eleventh century, the abbey of Saint-Méen was also an enclave of Dol.[230] The church of Trébédan, as noted above,[231] contains a statue of St Petroc although he is not now otherwise commemorated at the site; this parish too was an enclave of Dol.[232]

Toponymy Reconsidered

The example of Dol shows how a consideration of toponymic evidence combined with that of association with other saints and their cults can illuminate an otherwise obscure history. Before proceeding to the examination of other saints and cults significant in the development of the cult of St Petroc in Brittany, it will be useful to assess the general Breton toponymy as it concerns St Petroc. The toponymic evidence of the cult of St Petroc in Brittany shows the cult of the saint to be a late arrival, well after the period of the Breton migration and the formation of the first ecclesiastical (and perhaps secular) settlements. Place-

[228] Duine 1922, p. 145; Guillotel 1977, p. 38.

[229] Guillotel views Saint-Jacut-de-la-Mer (originally Landoar or Landouar) as the *Lanus campus* mentioned in the earliest Life of St Turiau (one of St Samson's successors at Dol) as visited by Turiau (and thus placed under the orbit of Dol), as the Breton *douar* signifies a tract of land comparable to a *campus* (Guillotel 1977, p. 54). Yet Loth and Tanguy give the primitive name as *Landoac*, and view the second element as a name of a saint (Loth as *Tofac*, 1909, p. 302 and Tanguy as *Doac*, 1992, pp. 290-291). Guillotel's argument is not entirely convincing (see also Poulin 1978).

[230] Guillotel 1977, p. 38.

[231] See above, page 142.

[232] Guillotel 1977, p. 40, p. 52, n. 91, and map on p. 39.

names commemorating St Petroc fall into two obvious classes; significantly, these two types also occur in two distinct geographical areas. The western part of the peninsula, Basse Bretagne (the more consistently 'Breton' area), shows place-names formed only in *loc-*. It is not surprising that this should be so, for such place-names are not found outside this area.[233] There are, however, no place-names formed with the name of St Petroc and any other element in this region: the cult of St Petroc in this area is represented only in this fashion. Moreover, St Petroc's cult exists almost exclusively in small hamlets named after the saint far from and unconnected to the important ecclesiastical foundations of Basse Bretagne. The eastern part of the peninsula, Haute Bretagne (more 'French'), shows relatively few place-names, in fact only two. These are formed solely with Saint-, and one of these, Saint-Pétreux, takes its name from a priory.

This distribution would seem to suggest two separate movements of implantation of cult, perhaps of different date, corresponding to the two periods of the formation of place-names in *loc-* and Saint-. The pattern also hints at two separate methods and motivations. A period between the tenth and thirteenth century has been suggested for place-names in *loc-*, with the cult of the eponym perhaps a bit earlier; this applies only to western Brittany. The enclaves of Dol outside of Ille-et-Vilaine aside, the dedications to St Petroc in eastern Brittany, in Ille-et-Vilaine (and the sole liturgical commemoration of the saint in Loire-Atlantique), can be seen as later and explicable at least possibly with reference to the twelfth-century theft of the relics.

<u>Other Saintly Associations: Wethenek and Guénolé</u>

[233] see above, page 113.

If St Petroc is only tenuously associated with St Samson of Dol, any other associations with Breton saints which might illuminate the distribution of his cult in Brittany are worth exploring. Ultimately any documentation of the hagiographical tradition of St Petroc is of Cornish provenance, as each text of the dossier originated at Bodmin. Moreover, St Petroc is not known to have visited Brittany; thus any association with other saints in this hagiographical tradition begins in Cornwall. The association, for example, between Petroc and Samson seems to have begun in Cornwall and percolated slowly to Brittany; one logically looks to Cornwall for other such associations. In the *Vitae*, Guron and Wethenek are not companions as such of the saint (he displaces them), but their cults are certainly entwined with his. Guron is associated with no other saints[234] and does not seem to have been known in Brittany,[235] but the opposite is true of Wethenek, if one can untangle all the possible permutations of his name. The name would seem to mean 'warrior' with the diminutive -*oc*.[236] Not surprisingly, it was common as a personal name in medieval Brittany.[237] Yet the Wethenek met by Petroc is commonly understood to have been a Wethenek who is known as the twin brother of St Jacut and the brother of St Guénolé.[238]

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[234] William John Ferrar, in recounting the tradition of St Petroc, says of Guron that "[he] is said to have come over [to Cornwall] with S. Piran" (1920, p. 37), but I have found no other notice of this.

[235] It is possible, however, that a *Lannouron* in Brittany commemorates this saint (Olson and Padel 1986, p. 61; Loth 1908, p. 292).

[236] Loth 1908, p. 294; Tanguy 1992, p. 250.

[237] Olson and Padel (1986, p. 53) give examples found in the Cartulary of Redon; Tanguy (1992, pp. 249-250) notes that the parish of Quemper-Guézennec in Côtes-d'Armor (near the north coast) is almost certainly named not after St Wethenek, but after a person with the same name as the saint documented in 1235, *Guehenoc de Kemper*.

[238] Olson and Padel 1986, p. 53; Loth 1908, p. 298; Duine 1918, pp. 132, 145, and 167. Wrmonoc's ninth-century Life of St Guénolé gives the saint's brothers as Wethenek (Weithnocus,

Wethenek's own cult in Brittany is difficult to assess. A site now named Lanvézennec and recorded in the eleventh-century Cartulary of Landévennec as *Lan-uuethnoc*[239] and in thirteenth-century charters in the Cartulary of Quimper as *Landeguedenoc* or *Languezenoc*[240] no doubt commemorates this saint.[241] The site is located approximately eleven kilometres south-east of Lopérec A and is near Landévennec.[242] The *lan-* formation of the name would seem to suggest that the cult of St Wethenek was present in Brittany from a the immigration or immediate post-immigration period. However, apart from this site (and several chapels in Finistère),[243] Wethenek's cult cannot be indisputably documented. Loth, for example, separates St Wethenek from another saint, Guenoc, Guenec, or Guennec, who, according to Loth has been confused with both Wethenek and Guénolé;[244] Duine, however, indirectly presents all these as the same person.[245] This latter connection is significant as there is a great number of place-names in Vennec; Vennec can be seen to be derived from Guenec and

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Guethenocus, or Guethnocus) and Jacobus ("Vita S. Winwaloei, p. 176).

239 "Cartulaire de Landévennec," no. 33, p. 566; Simon in Simon *et al* 1985, pp. 188-189.

240 Cartulaire de l'église de Quimper, nos. 57 (p. 98), 58 (p. 99) and 89 (p. 136); see also Largillière 1942, p. 50.

241 Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 162, n. 50; Loth 1908, p. 298. According to A. M. Thomas, both the abbey of Landévennec and the cathedral of Quimper claimed relics of St Wethenek at one time (Thomas in Les vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique, p. 773, n. 1).

242 Carte de France, 1:50 000. Gourin (1980).

243 Loth 1908, p. 298.

244 Loth 1908, pp. 295-296.

245 Duine does not directly link Petroc's Wethenek with Jacut and Guénolé's Wethenek, but uses the very same spelling (Guéthenoc) for both (1918, pp. 132 and 145); he gives a separate entry for "Weithnoc ou Guennec ou Guinou," whom he describes as Guénolé and Jacut's brother, thus connecting all three (1918, p. 167). A statue of the three brothers names them as Jacut, Guénolé, and Guennec (Tanguy 1986a, p. 18).

thus possibly from Wethenek.[246] The majority of these sites are in Finistère,[247] not surprisingly, but there are also examples in Côtes-d'Armor.[248] There are, however, no examples of this place-name in Morbihan or Ille-et-Vilaine.[249] This distribution would seem to support the view that these sites were named after a saint thought to have been the brother of Guénolé and Jacut,[250] as they are present in the two departments in which the abbeys of these two brothers are located. Guénolé's abbey, Landévennec, is in Finistère in the extreme west of the peninsula; Jacut's abbey, Saint-Jacut, is in Côtes-d'Armor, on the north coast in the east of the peninsula.

Further illustration of Wethenek's limited distribution, linked with the cults of Guénolé and Jacut, is provided by the liturgical evidence. The earliest Landévennec manuscripts do not include his feast (nor that of Jacut).[251] The eleventh-century sacramentary discussed above, which may be of Saint-Méen provenance, includes Wethenek's feast, somewhat anomalously,

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[246] Among those who identify the eponym of Vennec with Wethenek is A.-M. Thomas (in Les vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique, p. 773, n. 1). The early eighteenth-century martyrology of l'abbé Chastelain includes the saint who must have been considered the eponym of these place-names and identifies him as Guénolé's brother: "[November 5], En basse Bretagne, S. Venec (Guetenocus), qu'ils croient frere de S. Guingalois [Guénolé]" ("Les références bretonnes et celtiques" (1982), p. 167). November 5 is a slightly unusual feast day; the November 11 feast is more common (above, page 138).

[247] Nomenclature [1954a] gives fifteen potential examples.

[248] Nomenclature [1953a] gives eight potential examples.

[249] Nomenclature [1954b]; Nomenclature [1953b].

[250] These saints must be treated with caution: St Guénolé (or Winwaloe) in particular tends to have a number of similarly-named colleagues who are not always easily distinguishable (Morvannou 1974, p. *passim*).

[251] These include the calendar in the ninth-century Harkness Gospels (New York, Public Library 115: Morey in Morey *et al* 1931, pp. 264-71); the calendar of the tenth-century Landévennec Gospels (Oxford, Bodl. Libr. Auct. D.2.16 (2719); Duine 1922, no. XXX) and the tenth-century calendar (Bibl. Royale de Copenhagen Thott 239; Duine 1906, no. 54 and 1922, no. XXXI). All these include Guénolé but neither Jacut nor Wethenek (nor Petroc).

on November 11.[252] Wethenek is somewhat isolated in this manuscript: the sacramentary does not include the feasts of Sts Petroc, Jacut, or Guénolé. The sixteenth-century additions of Breton saints in a psalter of Saint-Jacut provide Wethenek with a more familiar context: the saint's usual November 5 feast is listed along with the July 5 feast of the translation of Jacut and Wethenek and the March 3 feast of St Guénolé.[253] A fifteenth-century manuscript missal of Saint-Malo includes the feasts of Sts Petroc, Jacut, and Guénolé, as well as Jacut and Wethenek's translation but not the feast of St Wethenek alone.[254] The printed sixteenth-century Saint-Malo breviary[255] includes Guénolé's feast, as well as Petroc's and Jacut's, but not Wethenek's. However, the breviary does include the date of Wethenek and Jacut's translation, although here it names only 'Wethenek, Jacut's brother' as having been translated.[256]

Wethenek's liturgical cult is mostly late, limited, and most often associated with Jacut. Yet even if Wethenek is not the eponym of the numerous Breton place-names, and despite the saint's clearly marginal liturgical distribution, a clear connection between Wethenek and Jacut and Guénolé is visible. Thus, through his connection with Wethenek, St Petroc enters into the very potent complex of Sts Guénolé and Jacut.

Yet while a connection, however indirect, between the cult of St Petroc and the cult of

[252] Duine 1922, no. XXI, p. 26; see above, page 138.

[253] Duine 1922, no. CLVI; see above, page 133.

[254] Duine 1922, no. CCXLIII; see above, page 133.

[255] above, page 133.

[256] "Transla. f. Iacuti Guidhenoci"; Duine 1906 no. 26, p. 65.

St Guénolé seems obvious,[257] the involvement of St Guénolé's abbey seems minimal. The presence of sites in Finistère devoted to St Petroc cannot be directly attributed to the abbey of Landévennec. Although Marc Simon states firmly that in the eleventh century the abbey had possessions in the parish of Lopérec (Lopérec A) according to the Cartulary of Landévennec,[258] the sole evidence of this seems to be the record of a benefice which is named as *Gulet Iau*.[259] This site can either be identified with *Glujeau* in Lopérec or *Ménez-Glujeau* in a nearby parish, Hanvec.[260] The benefice does not appear in the abbey's records after this date.[261] There is no other evidence that the abbey of Landévennec was directly connected to any of the sites of the cult of St Petroc.

Moreover, although St Petroc is commemorated liturgically at several ecclesiastical foundations in Haute Bretagne (chiefly those connected in some way with Saint-Méen), he is not mentioned at Landévennec. The late-tenth[262] Calendar of Landévennec shows no sign of St Petroc; a gospel-book, perhaps from Landévennec[263] also does not include the saint. The feast of St Petroc is also absent in the calendar of a second gospel book of Landévennec from

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[257] As suggested by the chapel of St Guénolé (containing a statue of St Petroc) near Lopérec A, the nineteenth-century claim of this church to possess relics of both Petroc and Guénolé, and the proximity of Lopérec E to Saint-Guénolé.

[258] Simon in Simon *et al* 1985, p. 83

[259] "Cartulaire de Landévennec," pp. 564-565, no. 26.

[260] Simon in Simon *et al* 1985, p. 186.

[261] Simon in Simon *et al* 1985, pp. 191-195.

[262] Duine 1906, p. 137, no. 54. Elsewhere Duine attributes it to the eleventh century (1922, no. XXXI, p. 51), a date which is followed by Lapidge and Sharpe (1985, no. 973). Deuffic gives a date of x^i (1985, no. 27, p. 298).

[263] Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 965; Duine 1922, no. XXXI.

the later ninth century.[264] There is no evidence of commemoration of St Petroc at Landévennec.

The Tenth Century and Breton Exiles

The toponymic evidence of the cult of St Petroc in Brittany suggests that the earliest sites are those in the westernmost portion of the peninsula.[265] Although the geographical distribution of these sites in Basse Bretagne is explicable with reference to the cults of two associated saints, Guénolé and Wethenek (most directly the latter), the question remains, why Petroc? Why should this cult appear in Brittany at all? The place-name evidence suggests a cult implanted from the tenth century; political developments in this period may hold the key to this puzzle. As a context for the transmission of the cults of several saints honoured in Cornwall (among them Petroc) to Brittany Father Job an Irien has cited two key events of the tenth century: the presence of Breton refugees in Great Britain, and the dispersal of relics of Breton saints.[266]

The Viking raids on Brittany during the later ninth and early tenth centuries produced a profound displacement in the ecclesiastical and political hierarchy of the province. However, Smith argues, "although the collapse seems total, it is perhaps a historiographical mirage," and points out that the Vikings did not colonise the province and that churches and rulers soon regained their former possessions and status.[267] Yet the immediate effects were severe. The

[264] Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 962; Morey in Morey *et al* 1931, pp. 264-271.

[265] See above, page 148.

[266] an Irien 1985, pp. 183-8.

[267] Smith 1992, pp. 200-201.

raids scattered Breton clergy and relics eastward into France.[268] This same displacement provoked a dispersal of Breton manuscripts[269] and relics of Breton saints into England.[270]

The West-Saxon king Athelstan (who reigned 924-939) took a profound interest in events outside England[271] and significantly assisted the return of several exiles. Flodoard's *Annals* show Athelstan's continuing support of the beleaguered Louis d'outremer of France;[272] the Breton *Chronique de Nantes* presents Athelstan similarly, assisting the Breton duke against the Vikings.[273] Over and above the possibility of clerics acting as emissaries on diplomatic missions, Althelstan's secular policies seem to have been mirrored by ecclesiastical interests.[274]

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[268] see Guillotel 1982, *passim*.

[269] Wormald (1977, pp. 3, 11) notes that at least three Breton gospel books had come to England by the tenth century; these are Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Bradfer-Lawrence BL 1 (Bradfer-Lawrence Gospels); London, BL Addit. ms. 9381 (Bodmin Gospels) and London, BL Royal ms. 1.A. xviii (Athelstan Gospels). Simon Keynes (1985, p. 168, n. 128) adds New York, Public Library 115 (the Landévennec or Harkness Gospels); Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D.2.16 (Landévennec or Leofric Gospels); and London, BL, Cotton Otho B.ix. Other Breton manuscripts present in England by the tenth century include London, BL Royal ms. 5.E.xiii and Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 42 (*S.C.* 4117) (Dumville 1993a, pp. 48-9). See Alexander (1977) for those Breton manuscripts which appear in countries other than England.

[270] Guillotel 1982, p. 269. Julia Smith notes that there seems to have been no apparent concern for the return of the relics after stability had been restored (Smith 1992, pp. 199-200, n. 55).

[271] David Dumville has stressed the wide range of Alfred the Great's contacts as a context for the reigns of Athelstan and Edgar and notes, for Athelstan, "an increase in the range of dynastic contacts with Continental rulers" (1992, pp. 144, 149). Ecclesiastical links are similarly presented as "cultivated and initiated by [Alfred the Great] but nurtured by his successors and their ecclesiastical servants" (1992, p. 155).

[272] English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042, pp. 344-45 (no. 24).

[273] La Chronique de Nantes, pp. 88-89.

[274] Dumville characterises various aspects of Athelstan's reign (both ecclesiastical and secular) as complementary manifestations of "a decisive period of consolidation and advance" (1992, p. 167).

Athelstan's interest in collecting and distributing relics is well known.[275] The utility of exchanges of relics as a tool of royal diplomacy and the potential of donations to display a king's piety and generosity no doubt inspired much of this collecting.[276] Breton relics may have helped to cement ties between Athelstan and the Breton exiles. William of Malmesbury recorded a letter to Athelstan from Radbod, prior of the cathedral chapter of Dol in exile in France. With the letter Radbod sends relics of various Breton saints, citing previous contact between Dol and Edward, Athelstan's father.[277] Guillotel has pointed out that these relics had previously been deposited in a chapel which Hugh the Great, duke of the Franks and patron of the clergy of Dol in exile, had placed at their disposal. The removal of these relics, and their conveyance to Athelstan, Guillotel has argued, may have occurred in 926. In this year Hugh sent an embassy (bearing gifts and relics) to Athelstan to ask for his sister in marriage. Thus the Dol clergy seized an opportunity to flatter and assist Hugh, their patron.[278] While the initiative for this gesture might not have lain with the Breton clerics, the letter shows that gift of relics to Athelstan was viewed as an appropriate occasion to conduct some diplomatic manoeuvring. One possible result of these exchanges of relics was a

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[275] Rollason 1986, p. 91.

[276] Rollason 1986, pp. 92-93.

[277] English Historical Documents c. 500-1042, p. 982, no. 228; the letter appears only in William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Pontificum* (De Gestis Pontificum, pp. 399-400; see also Brett 1991, p. 46). Yet Dumville has noted that "Edward's confraternity-agreement w[illegible] the church of St Samson of Dol is likely to provide the context for the petition in the probably Breton litany published from a lost manuscript at Reims (*Vetera Analecta*, ed. Mabillon, II 669-81), 'ut clerum et populum Anglorum conseruare digneris te rogamus'" (Dumville 1992, p. 155, n. 91).

[278] Guillotel 1982, p. 297; see also Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 168.

great vogue for Breton saints at Winchester,[279] which was quite possibly the centre of a diffusion of cults of Breton saints.[280] These cults appear, above all, in Britain's south west.[281]

Caroline Brett has also examined tenth-century Anglo-Breton contacts, in particular as illustrated by a letter of the tenth century which introduces a Breton, a former knight turned anchorite, who had some time ago come to England, sought and received Athelstan's assistance, and was installed by him at an unknown site, *Cen*.[282] Although the letter has Breton warfare as its background, Brett argues that the wording of the letter stresses that "the anchorite came to England for religious purposes, as a bona fide pilgrim, and not as a refugee using religious status to gain preferential treatment." Moreover, she continue

> we may picture a fairly constant drift of pilgrims in either direction [illegible] English Channel and in the Irish Sea in the early Middle Ages ... the letter in[illegible] their numbers were increasing as a result of the political circumstances.[283]

Having assessed the evidence for a Breton presence in England in the tenth century, Brett concludes that not only Breton books and relics crossed the Channel, but also people.[284]

[279] Gasquet and Bishop 1908, p. 56; Dumville 1992, p. 157.

[280] Gougaud 1922-23, pp. 607-608 and 1923, p. 27.

[281] Gougaud 1919-20, p. 277.

[282] Brett 1991, p. 43. Later she suggests for *Cen* Cenn in Somerset or Devon (1991, p. 48).

[283] Brett 1991, p. 45. Indeed, Brett's suggestion that the author of the letter introducing the Breton pilgrim would seem to be a religious from the continent now installed in England, probably Wessex (1991, p. 44), would tend to support a substantial and prolonged installation of Bretons in England under Athelstan. Later (1991, pp. 49-50) Brett suggests as the author a John, the Iohannes of an acrostic poem of Athelstan's reign (Lapidge 1981, p. 72), not John the Old Saxon as Lapidge suggests (1981, p. 77), but John, the abbot of Landévennec, who appears in a vague role of diplomacy concerning Anglo-Breton affairs (Brett 1991, p. 45; this according to a charter of the Cartulary of Landévennec reprinted in Brett 1991, pp. 61-4).

[284] Brett 1991, p. 48.

Such exchanges reached their height between 919 and 939,[285] but probably were occurring even before the raids[286] and persisted after.[287] Not unconnected to this Breton presence in England, especially in the south west, is the British Benedictine reform of the tenth century;[288] Bretons also possibly contributed to the introduction of Caroline script into England.[289]

Athelstan's interest in Breton clergy can usefully be viewed in conjunction with his aid to secular Breton rulers.[290] Among these latter was Mathuedoi, count of Poher (or Cornouaille)[291] and son-in-law of Alain le Grand, himself count of Vannes and duke of Brittany. Some time between 913 and 931[292] Mathuedoi and his son Alain Barbetorte fled to England; according to the *Chronique de Nantes* they took large numbers of their followers.[293] Julia Smith posits a possible West Saxon move to extend lordship over Brittany: Breton tradition concerning this period includes "all the conventions of hegemonic

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[285] that is, between the first significant Viking raid on Brittany and the end of Athelstan's reign (Brett 1991, pp. 44 and 47).

[286] For example, Dumville (1992, pp. 156-7) argues the prominence of Brittany in the dissemination, before the raids, of "mostly mass-manufactured books containing elementary texts necessary to the dissemination in England of a more widespread appreciation of the christian message" and after, the export to England of "books ... of a rather different and grander type."

[287] Dumville 1993b, p. 9.

[288] Brett 1991, p. 47. See also Bullough 1975, p. 33; Keynes 1985, p. 198; Wood 1983, p. 271; Farmer, *passim*; Symons 1975, p. 37.

[289] Brett 1991, pp. 47-8; see also Dumville 1992, p. 156-9, and 1993a, p. 142.

[290] Brett 1991, p. 45.

[291] Guillotel 1977, pp. 67-68.

[292] Guillotel 1979b, p. 69; Smith 1992, p. 124.

[293] La chronique de Nantes, pp. 82-82; Guillotel 1979b, p. 68.

lordship."[294] The presence of these lords in England is suggested by a large Breton contingent at Winchester in the tenth century and may have contributed to the many Breton manuscripts that have remained in England since this period.[295]

In the south-west, Athelstan's domestic policy may account for some of the cults of Breton saints. Athelstan made good use of relics, especially in the south west, and the major collections of relics at Exeter cathedral (including many Breton saints) were attributed to him.[296] Athelstan's reputation in Cornwall is that of pious founder and generous patron of churches.[297] The spread of these cults may also be due to the presence of Bretons in the southwest counties in the tenth century, followers, perhaps, of Mathuedoi and Alain Barbetorte.[298] Job an Irien points to the common language shared by Cornish and Bretons in the tenth century, and suggests "il y a tout lieu de penser que ce soit là un élément suffisament important pour que les Bretons se soient installés de préférence en Cornwall."[299] Irien stresses the role of these humbler[300] Bretons in bringing cults of Breton saints across the Channel to Cornwall:

le Breton du Xe siècle émigrait avec sa foi, et cette foi était profondément liée à un

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[294] Smith 1992, p. 197. These conventions include the flight to Athelstan's court, the position of Athelstan as godfather to Mathuedoi's son Alain Barbetorte, and Athelstan's assistance to Alain Barbetorte in dislodging the Vikings from Brittany (Smith 1992, pp. 196-197).

[295] Smith 1992, p. 197.

[296] Conner 1993, pp. 171-209.

[297] See Chapter II, note 112.

[298] Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, p. 389.

[299] an Irien 1985, p. 183.

[300] Dumville (1992, pp. 159-60) notes the presence, where discernible, of both grander and lesser Continental foreigners at various English centres, with reference to known diplomatic links and the presence of imported manuscripts. The posited Breton presence is plausibly analogous.

saint que l'on priait encore plus intensément en période troublée.[301]

Elsewhere Irien argues that this process could operate in the opposite direction. Breton exiles in Britain might have prayed in the places of their exile for their return to Brittany;[302] on their return they might have honoured the saints through whose intercession this return had been effected. Certainly the cults of several English and Cornish saints appear in Brittany at this time.[303]

One need not, however, go as far as Susan Pearce: on the one hand she notes that contact between Cornwall and Brittany existed before the tenth century but suggests that "it is not until the early 10th century that this contact moves into the area of royal politics, where it can be traced more easily;"[304] on the other hand she argues, "the 10th-centu contacts with Brittany appear to have inspired most if not all of the dedications to Breton saints [in south-western Britain]."[305] The assumption of a logical connection between the first documentation of a cult and its implantation requires caution. Olson and Padel's investigation of a tenth-century list of saints, which they conclude is quite possibly a list of saints in Cornwall arranged by parish, suggests the implantation of some of these cults before (perhaps

[301] an Irien 1985, p. 188.

[302] an Irien nd, pp. 35-37.

[303] Job an Irien (1985, p. 188) cites the cults of Augustine of Canterbury, Cuthbert, Ediltrude, Alban, and John of Beverley. The case of St John of Beverley, especially, is often cited: a Breton parish named Saint-Jean-Brévelay (in Ploërmel) commemorates this Yorkshire saint (Doble 1935-1936, pp. 10-11; Gougaud 1922-23, p. 605).

[304] Pearce 1973, p. 96. Pearce's article, it should be noted, stresses the "important contingent of Bretons..[as] a permanent presence at [Athelstan's] court" (1973, p. 96) and "the interest taken in Breton saints and their cults by the highest authorities in the middle of the tenth century (1973, p. 98) in the diffusion of cults into the south west over the presence there of humbler Bretons.

[305] Pearce 1973, pp. 115-116.

well before) the compilation of the list in the tenth century.[306] Pearce herself is aware of the continuity of cultural contact and states that "after [the early Christian period] several phases can be distinguished when apparently early dedications to Celtic saints came into being, or pseudo-historical information about existing dedications was elaborated."[307] Yet the tenth century as a period of transmission suits the available Cornish and Breton evidence of the cult of St Petroc. In this case, however, the transmission of cult seems essentially a 'popular' exercise, given the nature of the sites in Basse Bretagne (small hamlets with names in *loc-*) and their seeming isolation from significant royal or ecclesiastical sites.[308]

Guénolé, Wethenek and the cult in Basse Bretagne

That portion of Basse Bretagne known as Cornouaille (and including the abbey of Landévennec) includes three or four sites significant in the cult of St Petroc. Lopérecs A, B, and C, lie within this region, as does Lopérec D, whether it commemorates Petroc or Brigit.[309] Lopérec E (Côtes-d'Armor) lies within the bishopric of Tréguier, a bishopric probably created in the tenth century at the expense of neighbouring Saint-Pol de Léon.[310] This latter area, the north-western portion of Brittany known as *Dumnonée*, is poorly

[306] Olson and Padel 1986, pp. 68-69, and especially note 203. The cult of St Rumon for example, is dated in Cornwall and Devon by Pearce to the last years of the tenth century (1973, pp. 114-115); the presence of the saint's names in the list of Cornish saints (if that is what the list is) suggests an earlier implantation of cult (Olson and Padel 1986, p. 40).

[307] Pearce 1973, p. 115.

[308] an Irien 1992, p. 22

[309] See Ropars 1986, p. 97, for a map of Cornouaille.

[310] Guillotel 1979b, p. 77.

documented for much of the period under consideration[311] although the existence of a cult of St Guénolé (as suggested by the name of a nearby town, Saint-Guénolé) near Lopérec E[312] might provide a context for the installation of Petroc's cult here.[313] Lopérec/Saint-Pierre (Morbihan) is further removed from Cornouaille and its associations with Mathuedoi and Alain Barbetorte. It lies within the region (and bishopric) of Vannes; Alain le Grand, Mathuedoi's father-in-law who presided over the final days of the *regnum Britanniae*, was count of Vannes.[314] However, although the dynastic inheritance of Vannes no doubt contributed to the legitimacy of Alain Barbetorte's claim to his grandfather's authority,[315] the county of Nantes seems to have been more important to the exercise of this authority.[316] The precise significance of Lopérec/Saint-Pierre and the role of Vannes in the establishment of Petroc's cult remains somewhat unclear.

The location of sites of St Petroc's Breton cult in areas significant to Alain Barbetorte and his followers, the interest of Athelstan in collecting and distributing relics, the

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[311] Several princes or dukes of Dumnonée are mentioned in the hagiographical texts, but the history of the area remains obscure (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 143). Smith notes that the Breton hagiographers show a sense of this area as a coherent region with its own traditions (1992, p. 119).

[312] See above, page 122.

[313] The establishment of a 'comté de Tréguier (or Tregor)' after the restoration might provide a better context for this site, which lies within the area concerned (see Droguet 1987, p. 119 for a map). A portion of the family of Eudon de Penthièvre, counts of Tregor and Penthièvre, outside the ducal authority of the Breton leaders for much of Breton ducal history (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 45 and 66), was active in the Norman Conquest of England and was repaid with the English 'Honour' of Richmond (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 192). See Chapter V, page 254 and note 71.

[314] Smith 1992, p. 121.

[315] Smith points out that "the coherence of [the Breton] principality was essentially personal and dynastic" (1992, p. 145).

[316] Smith 1992, p. 139; Guillotel 1979b, p. 76.

involvement of Athelstan in Breton affairs, and the possible presence of Bretons in Cornwall have been cited in the explanation of the presence of this Cornish saint in western Brittany from the tenth century. Yet again one must ask, of all the Cornish saints who might have been (and, indeed, were) carried to Brittany in this period,[317] why St Petroc?

The crux of the installation and subsequent diffusion of this cult in the Breton peninsula must be St Wethenek. Wethenek links St Petroc to those saints already installed in Brittany before the Breton dispersal caused by the raids. The adoption of the cult of St Petroc must reflect some sense among the Bretons that St Petroc was already a member of a community of saints disposed to intercede on behalf of Bretons. Wethenek was well-known in western Brittany as the brother of perhaps the most significant saint of Finistère, Guénolé; the association between Petroc and Wethenek must have provided a significant impetus to the cult of the former in this area.

The presence of Bretons in Cornwall is logical in view of linguistic affinities; such a presence at Padstow is strongly suggested by the Breton provenance of the Gospel Book within which numerous manumissions were written: the Bodmin Gospels.[318] Moreover, the manumissions themselves would seem to show Petroc's reputation as extending beyond the area of Padstow. This wider reputation would arguably have been significantly connected with the site of these relics (and therefore the manumissions). The dual nomenclature of the early tenth-century resting-place of St Petroc's relics, Padstow/Lanwethenek, commemorates both

[317] See an Irien 1985, pp. 183-8 and map 8. Other cults dating to this period are Sts Dreg, Moellien, Nep, Ké, Rumon, as well as that of the Welsh David.

[318] Wormald notes that the Bodmin Gospel book was "certainly at Bodmin priory [this should perhaps be Padstow/Lanwethenek] by the end of the tenth century" (1977, p. 11). See also Deuffic 1985, p. 300.

Petroc and Wethenek.[319] One can easily imagine the report of miracle-working relics of St Petroc at Lanwethenek ('the holy place of Wethenek' in both the Breton and Cornish languages) being especially interesting to Breton exiles in the south west. Thus St Petroc, a well known, powerful Cornish saint with apparently pre-existing Breton connections, was adopted by these Breton exiles.

Other Saintly Associations: St Jacut

The connection between St Petroc and Wethenek was arguably instrumental in the installation of the former's cult in Basse Bretagne. It is also possible that this connection with Wethenek inspired the spread of the cult of St Petroc into the eastern part of the peninsula, where the cult of Wethenek's other brother, Jacut, was present.

St Jacut forms the third member of the trio of Sts Guénolé, Wethenek, and Jacut. Sts Petroc, Wethenek, and Guénolé were honoured liturgically at the abbey of Saint-Jacut-de-la-Mer, at least in the sixteenth century when Breton saints honoured at the abbey were added to a psalter of English origin.[320] Yet Jacut himself is not liturgically commemorated at Landévennec,[321] and his liturgical notices elsewhere in Brittany are few in number and late

[319] The manumissions rarely mention the name of the site of St Petroc's altar, and when they do they use the form Padstow, possibly more in the sense of 'the holy place of St Petroc' than as a name of a specific place (Chapter II, pages 58ff); nowhere in the manumissions does the place-name Lanwethenek appear. Yet clearly these transactions would have been known among the Cornish (and their visitors) as occurring at the site of St Petroc's relics, which in the early tenth century would have been Padstow/Lanwethenek.

[320] Duine 1922, p. 145; Leroquais 1940-41, vol. II, p. 178.

[321] Debary 1969, p. 155.

in date (as opposed to those of his supposed brothers, Wethenek and Guénolé).[322] This suggests, to Michel Debary, a cult installed after that of Wethenek and Guénolé, and insignificant for much of the early Middle Ages. The historical Jacut, he argues, post-dated the period of founding saints such as Guénolé, and lived some time between the seventh and ninth centuries,[323] when he founded the abbey of Saint-Jacut on the site of an earlier monastery, Landoac.[324] Debary states that Jacut has no cult outside of Brittany, and concludes from this that the saint's relics were not taken from the province during the raids; thus the abbey, he argues, cannot have been very significant.[325] However, Jacut's *Vita* appears under June 16 in Paris, BN ms. lat. 5296, the *Passionarium parvum*;[326] the known provenance of this twelfth or thirteenth-century manuscript is the Norman abbey of Fécamp.[327] A Fécamp lectionary, the thirteenth-century *Lectiones ad prandium*, notes that

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[322] Debary 1969, pp. 154-155. Liturgical notices of St Jacut are found at Dol in the eighteenth century, at Saint-Méen in the sixteenth, at Saint-Malo in the fifteenth, in Vannes in the fifteenth, and at Saint-Brieuc in the sixteenth century.

[323] Debary 1969, p. 154.

[324] Debary 1969, p. 152; this might sound familiar, considering the history of Padstow/Lanwethenek. Also familiar is the eponym of Landoac: Tanguy interprets the name as *lann* + Doac, who is also known as Docco (Tanguy 1992, p. 291). The first Life of St Samson of Dol includes an abortive visit by the saint at a *monasterium quod Docco vocatur* (ch. 45) in Cornwall (La vie de S. Samson, p. 142).

[325] Debary 1969, p. 154.

[326] Dolbeau 1979, p. 198; AASS Nov. III, p. 96. This is a composite Life of both Jacut and Wethenek, and the Bollandists, not having found sufficient evidence of Jacut (AASS Feb. II, p. 149) printed the life under Wethenek's feast although the rubric reads: "Incipit vita beati Jacobi vel Iacuti confessoris, quae recolitur annuatim eodem die [June 16]" (the Fécamp manuscript is arranged by feast day: [Bollandists] 1889-93, vol. I, pp. 568-77).

[327] The manuscript contains some ninety-five Lives, including those of several Breton saints ([Bollandists] 1889-1893, vol. I, pp. 568-585). Dolbeau describes it as 'not of Norman origin' (1979, p. 198 n. 6).

the Life of a St *Jacobus* was to be read on from the *Passionarium parvum* on June 16. The *Lectiones* further state that St *Jacobus* "in Fiscannensi requiescit ecclesia."[328] Fournée views this *Jacobus* as Jacut ("'Jacut' est une corruption de Jacques") and, indeed, there is evidence of a limited liturgical commemoration of St Jacut at Fécamp on June 16.[329] Although Jacut's liturgical cult in Brittany does not know this day, the Fécamp evidence shows consistent attribution of the June 16 feast to this saint. The erratic orthography of the saint's name is not unduly distressing; the anomalous feast day, however, strongly suggests that a different saint was originally intended, and that the Life of Jacut and his brother was at some point attached to this Jacobus.

The saint's twelfth-century Life, as Guillotel points out, does not shed further light on the subject of the saint's relics. The author's contention that he merely recast an older text which had been discovered with the bones of the saint upon the transport of these last to another site is undermined by the character of the life:[330] it is a patchwork of elements of the Life of Guénolé.[331] The possible movements of relics of St Jacut are unknown, and the identity of the relics of St *Jacobus* at Fécamp remains obscure.

Debary concludes that the addition of Jacut to the Wethenek-Guénolé connection occurred only after the tenth-century Viking raids. During this period, he argues, Landévennec

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[328] Fournée 1984, p. 306 (Fournée, however, does not provide the shelf mark for this manuscript).

[329] Fournée 1984, p. 306. Leroquais notes two breviaries of Fécamp in which Jacut is spelled *Iacutus* rather than *Jacobus*: a Breviary of Fécamp of the second half of the thirteenth century (Rouen, bibliothèque municipale ms. 205) and another (the Summer portion only) of the same date and provenance (Bibliothèque municipale ms. 251). See Leroquais 1934, vol. IV, pp. 95 (no. 750) and 118 (no. 766) and below, note 335, for the names Jacut and Jacob.

[330] AASS Nov. III, p. 98.

[331] Guillotel 1982, p. 279.

attempted to recover its dominion; at this time a Cartulary (with the Lives of Guénolé as its main source) was compiled which cast a legendary king of Cornouaille, Grallon, as a generous patron.[332] Debary argues, on somewhat dubious evidence, that Landévennec also tried to exert its authority over St Jacut.[333] While Landévennec may not quite have wished to rule over St Jacut, saint or abbey, the impulse to establish or re-establish ecclesiastical associations after a period of disruption is reasonable in the context, and this can profitably be accomplished by the promulgation of a bond of kinship between the various founders and patron saints.[334] Thus, Debary argues, Jacut was incorporated into Guénolé's family.[335]

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[332] Merdrignac 1985-86, vol. I, p. 57. Upon his return to Brittany in 939 from exile in England Alain Barbetorte, the duke of Brittany, was a generous patron to Landévennec, as to other foundations (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 176).

[333] Debary (1969, p. 155) states: "la notice de saint Guénégan signale la présence de Jacut à Landévennec aux obséques de Grallon, comme si son monastère dépendait de Landévennec." This, however, is misleading: the Life of Guénégan (or Conogan), such as it is, does not mention Grallon's funeral (AASS Oct. VII, p. 43). Albert le Grand quoted "un fragment que je vis audit Monastère [Landévennec] le jour de Saint Mathias en Février, l'an mil six cens vignt-neuf, qui portoit ce titre: *De exequiis Regis Gradlonis Fundatoris nostri*" as recording the presence of "[abbates?] Monachi Jacuti" on this occasion (Les vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique, appendix p. 131). This text is not a Life of St Guénégan (nor of any saint); its origin is obscure, and its significance for the creation or legitimisation of associations between founders is dubious.

[334] In this way, saintly genealogies and ecclesiastical origin-legends can be seen to operate in the same fashion as similar tales in the secular Celtic literature. Genealogical tales, as Donnchadh Ó Corráin has stated,"are demonstrably symbolic statements and these statements may be changed as the need arises" (1986, p. 152; see also 1985, pp. 73-4 for an example taken from an Irish hagiographical text and Aigrain 1953, pp. 227-8 for a wider hagiographical discussion).

[335] Debary 1969, p. 156. The various Lives of Guénolé include a brother named *Jacobus* (bk. I, ch. 2; "Vita S. Winwaloei," p. 176). Guillotei argues that St Jacut himself is "une invention," and that the patron saint of this pre-Carolingian abbey was originally St James (1977, p. 54; see above, note 229). Merdrignac admits that for his purposes (as for the purposes of this study) the original existence of St Jacut is not essential, but doubts that a universal saint would have been replaced by a Breton saint, the opposite process being more common in the eleventh century (1985-86, vol. I, p. 67, n. 427). Yet clearly the earliest documented Landévennec liturgical practice seems to have ignored not only Jacut but also Wethenek (above, page 151), two saints with quite common names.

Other evidence supports the later incorporation of Jacut into Guénolé's familial sphere: by the thirteenth century both Jacut and Wethenek had been incorporated into Landévennec's liturgical practices.[336] St Jacut's Life also shows contact with Landévennec. The links between the two abbeys and founders were so strong by the twelfth or thirteenth century that the monk of Saint-Jacut who set out at this time to write a life of its founder modelled his text on Wrdistan's Life of Guénolé.[337]

Whatever the pre-Viking condition of Saint-Jacut, the key to the post-Viking prominence of the abbey is probably Hinguéten, an extremely energetic abbot. Under Hinguéten, Saint-Jacut was very active in the eleventh-century ecclesiastical reorganisation and reconstruction of Brittany following the devastation of the Vikings.[338] To this activity Hervé Le Goff attributes the abbey's long list of possessions, in part included in the papal bull of 1163;[339] among these is found the church of St Petroc (probably at Trégon).[340] St Jacut and his abbey may have been crucial to the expansion of St Petroc's cult beyond Finistère: if after the disruption of the Viking raids Landévennec was forging links between itself and the abbey of Saint-Jacut, partially through an association of their respective founders, and if, during or slightly after this period the church of St Petroc at Trégon,

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[336] Deuffic (in Simon *et al* 1985, pp. 276-7) lists some of the feasts found by Dom Mar:: in a now lost Martyrology of Landévennec: these include the *depositio* of Jacut and the feast (really the translation) of Jacut and Wethenek as well as the names of Jacut and Wethenek in a litany.

[337] Debary 1969, pp. 156-157; Merdrignac 1985-86, vol. I, p. 67.

[338] Le Goff 1983, p. 110.

[339] The list of these is impressive, including possessions in the dioceses of Dol, Saint-Malo, Saint-Brieuc, Tréguier, in addition to possessions in England (Le Goff 1983, p. 109).

[340] See above, page 127. Note that Le Goff gives this as a church ot Saint-Pierre (1983, p. 109).

belonging to Saint-Jacut, was founded, can we not see in this a connection between the cult of St Petroc in the west of the peninsula and that in the east, through the association between the abbeys of Landévennec and Saint-Jacut? Saint-Jacut possessed a church dedicated to St Petroc after a period of re-establishment, but before the entry of Petroc's relics into Brittany. The forging of family ties between Jacut and Guénolé (that is, between the abbeys of Saint-Jacut and Landévennec), ties which include St Petroc's companion Wethenek, is extremely suggestive. The patronage of St Petroc by the abbey of Saint-Jacut may well have been inspired by an impulse to embrace the saintly associations of Wethenek and Guénolé, members of Jacut's newly-formed family.[341] If (as has been argued) the connection between Wethenek and Petroc was sufficient to bring the cult of the latter to Basse Bretagne, why could this same connection not propel St Petroc into Haute Bretagne, at least to Saint-Jacut?

Bernard Tanguy has argued that this patronage of St Petroc by the abbey of Saint-Jacut was responsible for the spread of this cult deeper into Haute Bretagne: he notes that Hinguéten, the abbot of Saint-Jacut, was made abbot of Saint-Méen during the restoration of that abbey in the early eleventh century.[342] The location of the original abbey of Saint-Méen is disputed,[343] the dispersal of the community during the Viking raids having perhaps obliterated its traces. Nevertheless, Alain III, the grandson of Conan I (count of Rennes and Alain Barbetorte's successor), ordered the abbey refounded under Hinguéten in its ultimate

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[341] The tradition found in Morbihan describing Sts Petroc and Jacut as brothers (see above, page 140, 141) probably was inspired by the proximity of existing dedications, although it is remotely possible that the tradition represents a stage in this process of association (Tanguy 1992, p. 333).

[342] Tanguy 1992, p. 333.

[343] See Chapter V, pp. 239ff.

location at Saint-Méen-le-Grand.[344] Tanguy attributes the cult of St Petroc at Saint-Méen not to the appearance there of the saint's relics in the twelfth century, but to this link between Saint-Jacut and Saint-Méen in the early eleventh century. He comments, moreover, "le culte de saint Pétroc semble être, en effet, étroitement lié à celui des fondateurs présumés de cette abbaye, saint Jacut et son frère Guézénec [Wethenek]."[345]

St Wethenek's Cornish connection to St Petroc, combined with the former's familial connections to significant Breton saints who were the founders of important Breton abbeys seems to have been responsible not only for the very successful installation of St Petroc's cult in Brittany, but also for the equally successful expansion of his cult throughout the Breton peninsula.

Conclusion: St Petroc in the Religious Landscape of Medieval Brittany

The success of St Petroc's cult is all the more startling when one considers Julia Smith's assessment of the medieval Breton religious landscape as "intensely local." Smith continues "the association of saint and place was too strong to permit the adding of intruders."[346] Smith argues that the identification between a saint and a site (achieved in a number of ways) was paramount; thus she differentiates not between popular and elite but between local and introduced cult.[347] The cults of local saints are clearly discernable: these

[344] Jones and Galliou 1991, pp. 176-177; André Chédeville names Alain's mother Havoise as the impetus behind the re-establishment and re-endowment of Saint-Méen (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 225).

[345] Tanguy 1992, p. 333.

[346] Smith 1990, p. 337.

[347] Smith 1990, p. 343.

local saints are connected to their cult by *place*; the manifestations of these cults are very much connected to the local landscape and to a local tradition which has little to do with written lives or corporeal relics, but instead is characterised by healing springs or other natural features associated with the saint and secondary, non-corporeal, relics such as bells.[348] Introduced or relocated saints (often from nearby towns),[349] by contrast, require extra supports in order to bridge this gap of place; among these supports are written lives and the publicised presence of miracle-working corporeal relics, both provided by clerics wishing to channel devotion to a specific site.[350] Corporeal relics were not necessary to local cults; indeed these, Smith argues, seem to have been avoided by devotees of an already existing local or "native" cult.[351]

In light of this characterisation, the cult of St Petroc would seem to be an unusual local implantation, although the assumption of its essentially 'local' nature is in part based on a lack of evidence of clerical introduction. Yet it is striking in this context that the *Lopérec*s of Basse Bretagne, the 'holy places of Petroc,' are almost uniformly small enclaves with no apparent connection to the medieval ecclesiastical networks of Brittany, with some evidence of wells but no sign of corporeal relics. There seems to have been no organised clerical agency in this adoption; the abbeys and cathedral communities of Basse Bretagne show no

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[348] Smith 1990, p. 326.

[349] Smith gives the example of the introduction of St Ronan to Quimper, the site of St Corentin's cult: Ronan's original cult site is only seventeen kilometres from Quimper; nevertheless the transmission of his cult seems to have necessitated relics and a written Life (Smith 1990, pp. 329-330). Smith concludes, "the difference seems to stem from the simple fact that Corentin's cult was native to the town but Ronan's was not" (Smith 1990, p. 331).

[350] Smith 1990, p. 330.

[351] Smith 1990, p. 337.

commemoration of St Petroc, nor any claim over sites dedicated to him in such calendars or cartularies as survive. There is no tradition of hagiographical writing concerning St Petroc in Basse Bretagne, nor is there evidence of interest in his relics in this region until the nineteenth century (at Lopérec A). Nevertheless, the cult seems distinctly 'local' in Basse Bretagne; certainly there is no sign of official patronage of St Petroc. Although there is now no evidence of healing wells and non-corporeal relics (which Smith views as showing genuine local devotion to a saint)[352] there was a fountain of the saint at Lopérec A, perhaps one at Lopérec B, a well at Saint-Pétreux and perhaps one at Lopérec/Saint-Pierre. St Petroc has certainly made his presence felt upon the landscape; he is "firmly rooted in local topography and toponymy"[353] within his perhaps limited domain. The identification of this saint with the sites of his cult seems firm; the inhabitants of these sites seem to have accepted St Petroc as a satisfactory local Breton saint. The 'foreign' St Petroc seems to have made his impression on the local medieval Breton religious landscape without clerical intervention, without a written tradition, and apparently without relics. Clearly, although some cults can be characterised as clerically-introduced and driven, this is not the only way in which a cult can

[352] Smith 1990, p. 326. Smith may have overstated the differences between corporeal and non-corporeal relics. She associates non-corporeal relics with local cults and corporeal relics with clerically-directed cults (which are characterised by accounts of miracles associated with the saint's corporeal relics). Huw Pryce accepts Smith's model for Wales, and seems to endorse her implication that corporeal relics are invariably associated with active, "powerful," usually clerical promotion of cult (Pryce 1992, p. 60). Thus according to both Smith and Pryce, local lay participation in the cults of saints somehow intrinsically precludes corporeal relics. This perhaps ignores the crucial difference between cult practice and clerical cult-building, stressed, for example by Richard Sharpe who comments that a lack of postmortem miracles in Irish *Vitae* show a lack of interest in cult-building (1991, p. 34) and not necessarily a lack of interest in corporeal relics. Undocumented cult practice should not be assumed to have no interest in corporeal relics merely because of a documented clerical interest in these relics (Merdrignac 1993 pp. 55-6, 58-9 offers a similar caution).

[353] Smith thus describes Sts Paul Aurelien and Golven (1990, p. 326).

be moved or transmitted.

The cult in Haute Bretagne is in direct contrast to the cult in Basse Bretagne. Clerically introduced and directed (if one agrees with Bernard Tanguy's suggestion of interest taken in St Petroc by heads of great religious houses), this cult inspired much liturgical veneration but does not seem to have generated the same intense local attachment as suggested for Basse Bretagne. According to Smith's model, the brief presence of St Petroc's relics at Saint-Méen would form part of the introduction of his cult at Saint-Méen. Indeed, Smith offers Saint-Méen as a site for this introduction of cult and argues that the brief presence of the saint's relics at Saint-Méen in the twelfth century seems to have stimulated a short-lived popular cult.[354] Thus Petroc's relics, by working post-mortem miracles, could reproduce the abilities of established local saints. Moreover, while Saint-Méen did not compose any part of St Petroc's hagiographical dossier, the foundation did copy at least the first Life;[355] is this the combined deployment of written text and corporeal relics necessary, according to Smith, to introduce a new cult?

Yet Saint-Méen was quite possibly merely a step in a process already set in motion. Bernard Tanguy has argued that the cult was quite possibly known to Saint-Méen before the theft. He presents Saint-Jacut as the significant religious house in the promotion of Petroc's cult. Indeed, Saint-Jacut, with its church of St Petroc by 1163, is arguably more important to the introduction of the foreign Petroc's cult than Saint-Méen. Thus, in direct contradiction of Smith's model of the movements of Breton cults, Saint-Jacut, a house with a familial association between its founder and the introduced saint has seemingly initiated this

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[354] Smith 1990, p. 317.

[355] Smith suggests also that "a written account may have been returned to Bodmin with the relics" (1990, p. 316). This does not seem likely (see Chapter I, page 36).

transmission of cult rather than Saint-Méen, a house possessing, at least temporarily, corporeal relics and ultimately a written life. The initial stages of the process of implantation do not seem to have involved the presence of corporeal relics: the church of Trégon was dedicated to St Petroc at least fourteen years before the appearance of Petroc's relics in Brittany. This casts grave doubt upon Smith's emphasis on the crucial role of corporeal relics and written *vitae* in the introduction of a 'foreign' saint.

Moreover, Smith's model of Breton religious devotion cannot fully explain the installation of Petroc's cult in both Basse and Haute Bretagne: St Petroc seems to have been introduced to Basse Bretagne as a local saint but to Haute Bretagne as a foreign saint. It would seem that while the association of place was very important, it could be affected by factors in addition to secondary relics and topographical features. Indeed, in Basse Bretagne certainly, and in Haute Bretagne possibly, a connection with a well-established family of Breton saints seems to have been sufficient to introduce Petroc into an intensely jealous local atmosphere without the help of relics. Yet even here, the connection between St Petroc and St Wethenek is one of *place*, and this place is in Cornwall, where St Petroc was well-represented by healing springs and both corporeal and non-corporeal relics.[356]

Yet if St Petroc's relics were not necessary to the introduction of his cult in either Basse or Haute Bretagne, and if St Petroc's cult may have been known at Saint-Méen before the arrival of the relics, Smith may be correct in hinting that only the temporary presence of Petroc's relics at Saint-Méen inspired "anything approaching a popular cult *there* [my emphasis]."[357] The significance of corporeal relics to the cult of St Petroc at Saint-Méen, of

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[356] See Chapter II, *passim*.

[357] Smith 1990, p. 317.

course, need not be extended to characterise the entire Breton peninsula: a popular cult of the introduced but relic-less St Petroc in Basse Bretagne seems extremely likely. Nevertheless, if Saint-Méen is considered alone, could one see in the enthusiastic reception of relics at this abbey a clerically-driven motive for the transportation of these relics to Saint-Méen? Could Saint-Méen have desired to install the cult of St Petroc after the manner described by Smith, and sought corporeal relics and a written Life? This perceived need for relics would not explain why the relics were taken from Bodmin (unless one sees the reach of Saint-Méen as extending well beyond France and Brittany), but it might at least partly explain why the relics went to Saint-Méen rather than to another Breton foundation.[358] At any rate, the pious hagiographer's contention that 'the cult of St Petroc was scarcely known even in Cornwall' (and, by extension, unknown in Brittany)[359] is clearly shown to be a hagiographical conceit.

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[358] This possibility is explored (and ultimately discounted) in the final chapter: see Chapter VI, pages 323ff.

[359] As the *De furto* would have it ("Vies," p. 176).

Chapter IV: St Petroc, Bodmin Priory, and England

Introduction

Although Chapter II discussed the history of the cult of St Petroc in Cornwall, the political and economic significance of his churches to both the Cornish and wider English sphere have not yet been fully explored. This investigation is a necessary prelude to the consideration of the events of 1177, which involved not only Cornish and Breton clerics, but also the diocese of Exeter and even the Angevin government of England. The status of Bodmin priory, as well as St Petroc's fame (or lack thereof, as the *De furto* would ostensibly have it) require comment. Thus this chapter first explores the position of Bodmin priory as reflected in its landed possessions (moving from Domesday and before to the twelfth century), with attention paid to the possible role of various officials outside Cornwall in this history and the treatment by these officials of Cornwall as a region both within and outside normal English administration. The Crown and the diocese of Exeter are two key institutions in the recovery of the stolen relics; thus the interactions between these institutions and Bodmin priory (and its possession, the borough of Bodmin) come under investigation.

Devon, a border area resembling Cornwall, with a similar history but an earlier and more profound integration into England, shows the presence of Petroc's cult, but in a markedly different fashion than in Cornwall; thus we move more fully into the English sphere. Finally, the appearance of relics and liturgical commemorations of St Petroc beyond

the southwest not only shows the effects of the theft, but hints at some reputation antedating this event. Finally, this chapter estimates the position of Bodmin priory and St Petroc at the time of the theft.

The Possessions of St Petroc in Cornwall: Domesday

The Domesday Inquest of 1086 is the earliest survey of the possessions of St Petroc; its evidence reveals that in the later eleventh century, the church of St Petroc at Bodmin was "clearly the most important ecclesiastical body in Cornwall."[1] Domesday refers to the holdings and privileges of St Petroc's church (that is, Bodmin priory) in terms of St Petroc himself: Cornish churches as landholders are usually referred to by the name of the saint.[2] St Petroc, that is his church, held eighteen manors: seven of these were held 'by the saint' (that is in chief) and eleven were held 'of the saint' (with the church as landlord) by the dominant lay landholder (and half-brother to William I), the count of Mortain, or his men.[3] A further nine manors had been usurped, one by the king and eight by Count Robert. These usurped manors, and an additional manor of the king's land, had paid a sum to the church of St Petroc as customary dues. The church's manor of Bodmin had one of the six Cornish markets mentioned in the Domesday Survey and seems to have been a borough.[4] St Petroc's church

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[1] Preston-Jones 1992, p. 113. See Appendix I and Map 2 for Petroc's Domesday manors. All Domesday entries are cited by section number from the Exchequer Domesday edited by Caroline and Frank Thorn (Domesday Book: Cornwall) with additional information from the Exeter Domesday translated by Thomas Taylor ([Exoniensis Domesday, Cornwall]).

[2] See Olson 1989, p. 90 and below, page 181.

[3] Golding 1990, p. 124; Soulsby 1986, p. 33. See below, page 178 and Chapter V, pp. 254ff.

[4] Elliott-Binns 1955, p. 203; Finn 1963, pp. 164-165; Preston-Jones 1992, p. 124.

also had one of six Cornish mills at Cargoll.[5]

The church of St Petroc, of all ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief, held the greatest number of manors in Cornwall, although its holdings were surpassed in value by those of the Bishop of Exeter, whose diocese included Devon and Cornwall.[6] As the church of St Petroc was the largest ecclesiastical landholder in Cornwall, it is not surprising to find that it was also the most heavily despoiled,[7] mostly by Robert of Mortain. Robert, lord of Mortain, a "frontier lordship of great strategic importance" in south-western Normandy, was granted land in twenty English counties by William; Cornwall was the most significant of the concentrated areas of lands held by the count.[8] Of his Cornish manors, the count of Mortain retained the most valuable for himself as demesne; others were given over to sub-tenants.[9] Robert himself held only one of the manors usurped from St Petroc (St Tudy), with all others held by sub-tenants. Robert also held eleven manors of St Petroc; of these only two (Nancecuke, Trengale) devolved further; the rest seem to have been held by the count himself as a tenant of St Petroc.

Robert's "aggressive canalisation of trade onto his own estates,"[10] especially visible in Cornwall, had a deleterious effect on Cornish churches. According to Domesday the market of the canons of St Stephen at Launceston was baldly usurped by the count (4,2), as well as the fair at Metheleigh, belonging to the bishop of Exeter in 1066 (2,2). While the count did

[5] Elliott-Binns 1955, p. 144.

[6] Olson 1989, pp. 87-88; see Chapter II, note 78.

[7] Soulsby 1986, p. 37.

[8] Golding 1990, pp. 119, 124, 128.

[9] Golding 1990, p. 129; Soulsby 1986, p. 38.

[10] Golding 1990, p. 134.

not take the market of the manor of St Germans, held by the canons of St German's and the bishop of Exeter, he set up a competing market which ruined that of the manor (2,6).[11] Although St Petroc's market at Bodmin would seem to have escaped this fate, this house was greatly affected by its other losses.[12]

St Petroc's Domesday holdings were concentrated in the two northern coastal hundreds, Domesday Pawton and Stratton, especially the former.[13] Of the twenty-five or twenty-six manors mentioned in the Domesday Hundred of Pawton (modern Pydcr), nineteen or twenty were associated with St Petroc.[14] The remaining manors were held by the canons of St Piran (Perranzabuloe, 4,26), the canons of St Crantock (Crantock, 4,25), men of the count of Mortain (Arrallas, 5,4,12 and Burthy, 5,3,16), and the bishop of Exeter (Lanherne, 2,7 and Pawton 2,4). This last manor, Pawton, seems to have had some association with St Petroc.

The Domesday holdings in Stratton (excluding Bodmin and Lancarffe) were somewhat scattered. Treknow, held by the saint in demesne, is located on the north coast. Another manor in the same area, Bossiney, was held by the count of Mortain of the saint, as were Polroad and Trevilly. The manor of St Tudy had been taken from the saint by the count.

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[11] See also Golding 1990, p. 135; Preston-Jones 1992, p. 124.

[12] Golding 1990, p. 140.

[13] See Map 3. The Domesday hundreds of Cornwall differ significantly from hundred divisions even a century later (Picken 1965-67, p. 37). The Thorns show Nancecuke in Connerton Hundred, but at the time of Domesday it was in Pawton (Domesday Book: Cornwall, hundred notes, 4,6). Bodmin itself was probably part of Pawton Hundred in 1086; Lancarffe may have been in Pawton or in both Pawton and Stratton (Domesday Book: Cornwall, hundred notes, 4,3 and 4,22). Fursnewth and Trengale are the only manors associated with St Petroc in Domesday Fawton Hundred.

[14] Four were held by the saint, six were held of the saint by the count of Mortain or his men, seven were taken from the saint by the count, and one made a customary payment to the saint.

Boia, a priest of Bodmin, held the final Stratton manor, Pendavey.[15] Aside from manors near Bodmin and Padstow (notably this last, Pendavey), the pattern of holdings in Domesday Stratton is neither coherent nor impressive.[16]

The Domesday records for Cornwall are different in several respects from those of other English counties (including Devon). This is true not only of secular matters (as the unique Cornish geld-acre shows),[17] but also of the ecclesiastical landscape. Olson, for example, points to geld free status of all land held by Cornish ecclesiastical foundations in Domesday.[18] Payments, if mentioned, were owed not to the king but to the saint (the church). Moreover, as Olson notes, some statements of freedom from tax are phrased in broader language and seem to refer to immunities which are not merely fiscal. She argues that this exemption "looks like a survival from before the time when Cornwall was absorbed into Wessex, a deep-rooted immunity from secular exaction which was respected when the Anglo-Saxon geld was levied." Neither the manors of St Petroc's church in Devon, nor the Cornish

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[15] The Exchequer Domesday merely describes Boia as a priest (*presbiter*); the Exoniensis Domesday calls him a *clericus* and adds 'of Bodmin' (Domesday Book: Cornwall, 1,6; [Exoniensis Domesday, Cornwall], pp. 65, 102). Several Boias appear in the manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels ("Die Freilassungsurkunden;" and Chapter II, pages 58ff): in one Boia is a *diaconus* (no. 21), in another Boia is a *diaconus* and one of the *clerici sancti Petroci* (no. 22), in another Boia is a *decanus* (no. 31), and in another a *breðer of Ælric, Ælfwines sunu* (no. 33). As these four manumissions date to the first half of the eleventh century ("Dei Freilassungsurkunden," p. 88; Ker 1957, p. 159) the dates of the various Boias coincide with that of the Boia of Domesday.

[16] Domesday Stratton Hundred was later divided into three: Stratton, Lesnewth, and Trigg or Triggshire (Picken 1965-67, p. 37). Most of the holdings of St Petroc's church in Domesday Stratton are located in modern Trigg Hundred; only Bossiney and Treknow are located in Lesnewth.

[17] Ravenhill 1967, p. 306.

[18] "This saint's [Petroc's] lands never paid tax, save to this [Petroc's] Church" (Domesday Book: Cornwall, 4,22). See Olson 1989, p. 92 and Ravenhill 1967, p. 308.

possessions of the bishop of Exeter or Tavistock abbey shared this exemption.[19] Another unusual aspect of Cornish Domesday concerns the very presence of churches in the record. Although it is clear that Cornwall was well provided with churches and priests, churches only appear in the Cornish Domesday as landholders; thus very few are listed.[20] These Cornish churches, as noted above, are referred to by the names of their patron saints.[21] Yet although both the absence of most churches and the referral to those present in the record by the names of their patron saints could be attributed to the haphazard preferences of officials, the geld-free status of Cornish churches cannot be so explained.[22]

The Possessions of St Petroc in Cornwall: before Domesday

Ancient privileges pose the question of the antiquity of the holdings of the church of

[19] Olson 1989, pp. 92-93; Finn 1963, p. 254. St Germans is a typical Cornish example: the manor contained twenty-four hides; of these the canons of St Germans held twelve and paid no geld and the bishop of Exeter held twelve which were liable for geld (Domesday Book: Cornwall, 2,6). The situation of churches in Devon was slightly different: the Devon foundation of Buckfast, for example was exempt from geld for the manor of Buckfast, but the abbey's twelve dependent manors paid regular tax (Domesday Book: Devon, 6,13 and 6,1-12).

[20] Finn 1963, pp. 134, 191; Darby 1967, p. 354.

[21] This presents an interesting comparison with a tenth-century list of Brittonic saints appearing on a flyleaf of an ecclesiastical codex now in the Vatican library (Vatican codex Reginensis Latinus 191; see Chapter II, pages 78 and 99). The list of apparently Cornish saints (although a Breton context is also possible; Olson and Padel 1986, p. 40) is in part geographically arranged, and although Olson and Padel state that "it is essentially a list of the saints themselves, not of place-names" (1986, p. 65), the connection between the saint and his or her place is striking. This impulse can also explain the anomalous (compared to Anglo-Saxon charters) practice in some Cornish and Celtic charters of "granting of land to the saint(s) concerned rather than to their present followers or foundation" (Olson 1989, p. 83).

[22] Also of interest, although of unclear significance, is the exclusively ecclesiastical use of the term 'honour' in the Cornish Domesday record, which is applied to lands of Sts Petroc, Piran, and Kew (Picken 1975/6, p. 224).

St Petroc. The seven manors which could be described as 'demesne'[23] and were held either by the saint (as Domesday has it, that is by the church) directly or of the saint by small tenants unconnected to the Count Robert, were all held by the saint in 1066. The eleven manors held by the count of the saint were in 1066 held by thanes who "could not be separated from the saint." Of the eight manors taken from the saint by the count of Mortain, four were held in 1066 by tenants described in similar terms, and the other four are described as having made some customary payment to the saint.

The royal manor of Coswarth seems to have been less clearly connected to the church: held by Brictric son of Algar[24] in 1066, its only apparent connection with St Petroc was that it paid customary dues to the church; nevertheless, it is listed among the properties seized from the saint. Another manor, Carworgie, held by Brictric in 1066 and in 1086 by the king, also paid customary dues to the saint. Finally, the manor of Pendavey, formerly belonging to the royal manor of Blisland which had been held by Earl Harold in 1066, was in 1086 held of the count of Mortain by Boia, a priest of Bodmin. This is the only instance of the church of St Petroc (if that is the landholder indicated by 'Boia the priest of Bodmin') holding land not in chief. It is also the only instance of St Petroc holding land not held in 1066. The account

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[23] Finn 1964, p. 127.

[24] Brictric is not explicitly so identified in the Cornish sections of Domesday (despite the editors' confident note; Domesday Book: Cornwall, note on 1,13). However, as Sawyer has argued, there is no reason to doubt that the Brictric who in several counties was Queen Matilda's *antecessor* (both as Brictric and as Brictric son of Algar) is in each case the same person (Sawyer 1985, p. 73). This does not mean, however, that the several other Brictrics in the Cornish Domesday represent this Brictric. Among these other Brictrics should perhaps be sought the Brictric *Walensis* whose lands, or part thereof, went to Bernard the king's Scribe (see especially Round 1899, p. 420). Bernard possessed extensive lands in Cornwall, as attested by several charters (Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, Vol. II, nos. 1363 and 1851; see also Round 1899 and Picken 1986a). None of these, however, overlap with those held by Brictric son of Algar; indeed, Brictric *Walensis* seems to have an entirely different pedigree (Green 1986, p. 235).

in Domesday states that one hide was taken from this manor; elsewhere the Inquest notes that Earl Harold unjustly took from St Petroc one hide of land, which King William restored after an enquiry (4,21). The land in question is unnamed; nevertheless the manor of Pendavey is the only land held by the church in 1086 which had previously been held by Earl Harold.[25]

Thus all the Cornish Domesday manors of St Petroc were possibly held by the saint in 1066. Of these manors, Bodmin and Padstow clearly were associated with St Petroc long before the Domesday Inquest, as Chapter II has demonstrated. In addition, Ann Preston-Jones has suggested that the foundation of several churches which were associated with manors held by St Petroc at Domesday should be viewed specifically within a context of St Petroc's lordship over these manors. For a number of reasons (both archaeological and toponymic), the foundation of several churches (including Cubert, the manorial church of Ellenglaze) has been dated to a period after the first ecclesiastical foundations but before the Norman Conquest.[26] It seems distinctly possible that, especially in Pyder Hundred, the church of St Petroc dominated not only the pastoral landscape but also the tenurial landscape in the period before the Conquest. Moreover, in the case of, for example, Cubert, one can see the complementary aspects of these different types of authority.

The previous history of the other Cornish manors can be somewhat illuminated from various charters. In the early ninth century King Ecgberht granted land at *Polltun*, *Cællwic*, and *Landwithan*[27] to the bishop of Sherborne,[28] who was then bishop of the entire south

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[25] See below, page 186, however, for the probability that Pendavey was held by the king before 1066.

[26] Preston-Jones 1992, pp. 112-113.

[27] Finberg 1963, no. 76. It is also mentioned in Archbishop Dunstan's tenth-century letter to King Æthelred (Hooke 1994, p. 20; see also Chapter II) and in a tenth-century statement of the claims of the newly-created diocese of Crediton (Hooke 1994, p. 20). On the basis of the Dunstan

west, the possible existence of a Cornish bishopric notwithstanding.[29] *Polltun*, Pawton in St Breock, seems to have been a large estate, covering several parishes between Bodmin and Padstow.[30] The Domesday Hundred of Pawton (in which the church of St Petroc was the chief landholder)[31] is the modern Hundred of Pyder.[32] This name is quite possibly derived from Petroc,[33] and may represent an older tradition than that of the Domesday name, Pawton.[34] *Cællwic* (also spelled *Cællincg*) is somewhat obscure: Charles Henderson suggested the identification of *Cællwic* with Kelly in Egloshayle, which appears in Domesday in the episcopal manor of Burniere.[35] This identification has more merit than the other

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letter Hooke posits a lost ninth-century charter (1994, p. 16). Olson accepts the Dunstan letter's attribution of the grant to Ecgberht (1989, p. 55 n. 27), but M.A. O'Donovan disputes the attribution of the grant to this king (Charters of Sherborne, p. lvi).

[28] Finberg (1964, pp. 105-106) points out that Ecgberht granted many other Cornish lands to Sherborne.

[29] See Chapter II, note 96.

[30] Hooke 1994, p. 17.

[31] See above, page 179.

[32] Domesday Book: Cornwall, introduction to notes on the hundreds.

[33] Padel quoted in Olson 1989, p. 93, n. 199. Charles Thomas, who is not a philologist, has offered a different etymology (1964, p. 75).

[34] Picken, having examined the change of the names of the hundreds from those of the Domesday Survey (based on the names of manors) to those appearing a century later (quite possibly used earlier) and standard after this, argued that this change "can hardly be explained except by the assumption that an official, limited practice was discontinued in favour of a popular and traditional usage" (1965-67, p. 37). None of the Domesday hundred names persist in later Cornish usage; in addition it seems likely, at least in three instances (Triggshire, Pydarshire, and East and West Wivelshire) that those names which later became standard had been applied to those hundreds before the Conquest (1965-67, p. 38).

[35] Domesday Book: Cornwall, 2,5; Henderson 1925, p. 87.

suggested site, Callington (a parish near the eastern border of Cornwall),[36] but the matter rests greatly in doubt.[37] The third estate, Lawhitton, is in the east of Cornwall, near Launceston. Pawton, Burniere, and Lawhitton appear among the possessions of the bishop of Exeter (the ultimate successor to the west country estates of the bishop of Sherborne) in Domesday.[38] According to Henderson probably the first (and perhaps the second)[39] of the three estates was taken from the church of St Petroc,[40] perhaps because this was the seat of a Cornish bishopric.[41] As the estates of Pawton and Burniere (if this is the location of

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[36] Picken 1956-8, *passim*.

[37] Olson 1989, p. 69; Hooke 1994, p. 20; letter received from W.M.M. Picken, May 17, 1995. The identification of *Cællwic* with Burniere was seemingly bolstered by the identification of the Arthurian-associated 'Kelli Wic in Cornwall' with Killibury fort also within the manor of Burniere. However, Padel has pointed out that these two questions must be considered separately, and concluded that Killibury "remains a candidate," and not necessarily the most likely (1991b, p. 237), among others for the eleventh-century 'Kelli Wic in Cornwall' (1991b, p. 236; Padel in Miles 1977, pp. 117-18) but that the Anglo-Saxon *Cællwic* of the charter might or might not be Kelly (or Callington). Ultimately Padel has voiced considerable scepticism concerning the possibility of identifying the manor of *Cællwic* (1991b, p. 236; Padel in Miles 1977, p. 117; see also Moreton in Miles 1977, pp. 118-119).

[38] These manors also appear among the bishop's temporal possessions in the late thirteenth-century *taxatio* of Pope Nicholas (The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, p. 473).

[39] Orme suggests that the third estate, Lawhitton may have formed part of the possession of the church of St Petroc (Orme 1991, p. 11); this seems somewhat unlikely considering its location near St Stephen's, Launceston.

[40] Henderson in Doble 1938, p. 52; Henderson 1925 p. 25; see also Elliott-Binns 1955, pp. 303-304. Henderson also suggested that the usurpation of much of the area around Padstow (but not Padstow itself) at this time may have resulted in the somewhat strange situation of Padstow parish until the early nineteenth century: before this Padstow parish was divided into two parts, the town of Padstow, in the archdeaconry of Cornwall, and Padstow-in-Rure, a peculiar of the bishop (1955-60, p. 372).

[41] See, however Olson's suggestion that at the time of the charter of Æthelred granting the liberties of the diocese of Cornwall (994) there was no memory of a bishopric centred on St Petroc; had there been such a memory, she argues, the bishop of Exeter, as heir to the bishopric of Cornwall, would have laid claim to lands of the saint (1989, p. 77). Such a claim was obviously not made (at least in the late tenth century), and the notion that the lands of St Petroc

Cællwic) surround Padstow and lie between Padstow and Bodmin, certainly the effect of the grant would have been to isolate the foundation at Padstow from any possessions at Bodmin.[42]

Other charters which impinge on the possessions of St Petroc survive: land at Pendavey, which figured in Domesday as a manor separated from the royal manor of Blisland and held by Boia the priest of Bodmin, was granted to King Eadred by Wulfric, 'his faithful man,' in 949 in exchange for land in Berkshire.[43] A grant of land at Tywarnhayle was made in 960 by King Edgar to 'his faithful *minister*, Eanulf'[44] in an area dominated at Domesday by the church of St Petroc. The boundary clauses show the land granted to extend to the western end of Pawton Hundred.[45] The area, bounding on Cubert parish (within which St Petroc's manor of Ellenglaze was located), included several manors connected to St Petroc: possibly Halwyn, probably Nancecuke, and certainly Callestick and Tywarnhayle.[46] By the time of Domesday all these manors were held by the count of Mortain or his men of St Petroc. The only manor within the bounds of the grant not held by St Petroc was Perranzabuloe (*Lanpiran*), held by the canons of St Piran and somewhat despoiled by the count of Mortain by 1086 (4,26). The grant of 960 may not have included all the lands of the

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might have been considered part of the possessions of a Cornish see must be considered very cautiously.

[42] Olson 1989, p. 69.

[43] Sawyer 1968, no. 552; Hooke 1994, pp. 18-19. The charter describes the land as 'terrae quae sita <est> in cornubio narratur, ubi ruricole illius pagi barbarico nomine appellant Pendyfig'. The endorsement describes it as 'on wealum ... æt pendyfig' (Hooke 1994, p. 19).

[44] Sawyer 1968, no. 684; Hooke 1994, p. 28.

[45] See above, note 13.

[46] Hooke 1994, pp. 28-9, map on p. 30, and 31; Henderson 1925, p. 82. Olson also adds the saint's Domesday manor of Cargoll to the territory covered by the charter (1989, p. 95, n. 209).

later Domesday manors,[47] and, indeed, seems to have omitted the manor of Lanpiran; Della Hooke suggests that Lanpiran "may have formed an enclave totally enclosed by Tywarnhayle."[48] The 'holy place of St Piran' may have been omitted from this grant as a concession to an ancient ecclesiastical privilege, not unlike the exemption from geld displayed by Cornish churches in Domesday.[49] But if the traditions and claims of the canons of St Piran were possibly recognised and respected in this charter,[50] the claims of St Petroc may not have been equally respected. Manors belonging to St Petroc in Domesday (although most held by the count of Mortain) are in the Tywarnhayle charter apparently granted by the king to his minister.

Lynette Olson, however, argues that the Tywarnhayle grant shows "Anglo-Saxon

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[47] The grant concerns nine *cassati* (hides) at Tywarnhayle; at Domesday Tywarnhayle was assessed at seven hides (4,7), Nancecuke at one hide (4,6), Callestick at one hide (4, 9). Lanpiran was assessed at three hides (4,26). If one omits Lanpiran the total is nine hides.

[48] Hooke 1994, p. 32. Henderson suggests that the grant must have removed lands from St Piran, but left the church and demesne lands immediately adjacent (1955-60, p. 398).

[49] Olson 1989, p. 92; Orme 1991, p. 10. Note, however, two charters which, as Olson indicates, show "the re-endowment by the new political power of an *existing* establishment" (1989, p. 81); The tenth-century charters, one of Athelstan and one of Edgar, grant respectively the "nuclear lands" of the foundations of St Buryan and Docco to clerics of these churches (Olson 1989, pp. 78-82; Picken has a different view of *Landochou*, 1975/6, p. 224). Clearly, the core lands of ancient religious houses were viewed as potentially susceptible to usurpation, although these grants, as Olson implies, were probably confirmations. Yet this re-endowment (or confirmation), in the case of Docco, *Landochou*, did not last long and by Domesday (and perhaps a century before this; Picken 1975/6, p. 224) Docco was a royal manor (Domesday Book: Cornwall, 1,4). The precise details of how what became the parish church of Lanow passed to Plympton priory *c.* 1123 are somewhat obscure (Picken 1960, pp.42-44; 1975/6, p. 225).

[50] Olson seems to view the grant of 960 as including the are of the Domesday manor of Lanpiran (Olson 1989, p. 95, n. 209); however, Picken comments that he agrees with Henderson that the Domesday manor possessed by the canons of St Piran must represent a survival of an independent church (letter received from W.M.M. Picken, May 17, 1995; Henderson 1955-60, p. 398).

encroachment on property of Pieranus [Piran] if not of Petroc;"[51] the manors within this area (in Pyder Hundred) are generally thought to have belonged to St Petroc before the decisive amalgamation of Cornwall into the West Saxon kingdom with the battle of Hingston Down in 838 and the loss of Pawton manor around the same time.[52] Thus the Tywarnhayle charter perhaps shows the effects of substantial encroachment. How, then, did the manors return to St Petroc by 1066? The Domesday Survey notes that the tenants of these manors 'could not be separated from St Petroc.' The persistence of this connection, despite the holding of these manors by the count of Mortain, suggests that claims by St Petroc (or perhaps any saint) could persist even after tenure of the estate itself was lost. The persistence of such claims is further supported by the Domesday statement that a manor apparently never held by St Petroc (the royal manor of Carworgie) owed, nevertheless, a customary payment to the saint. Obviously, there is more to St Petroc's claim to various possessions and payments than tenure of land.

Perhaps, then, the four Petroc-associated manors of the Tywarnhayle charter, although alienated from the saint by a West-Saxon king, retained some vestige of this link, which was then sufficient to resist the usurpation of the count of Mortain. This, perhaps, is what the phrase 'could not be separated from the saint' indicates. Yet much of this tenurial history is obscure. The precise date of the association between St Petroc and the manors connected to his church in Domesday, and the exact nature of their continuing association, cannot be fully illuminated.

Olson points to the benefit to several Cornish saints (including Petroc) of "veneration

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[51] Olson 1989, p. 95.

[52] See, for example, Picken 1965-7, p. 38.

forthcoming from the English and/or continuing among the Cornish"; the creation of the Domesday holdings of St Petroc, she continues, "required very considerable patronage."[53] Olson would presumably locate this patronage of St Petroc in the period during which a Cornish bishop was connected with the foundation and assign the possessions gained by the foundation to this period.[54] Yet one cannot locate with confidence the patronage of St Petroc any more specifically than in the period before 1066. The Tywarnhayle charter hints at lay English possessions of certain lands thought to have belonged to St Petroc from an earlier period. The history of these manors immediately before and after Domesday is unknown. The Domesday record itself, however, is clear. St Petroc was, around the time of the Conquest, certainly the chief landholder in the hundred which came to bear his name.

Moreover, if one accepts the Tywarnhayle charter as demonstrating the usurpation of lands from St Petroc but not from St Piran, does the charter then show how some ecclesiastical lands might be usurped and some not, depending on the directness or antiquity of their connection with the original nucleus of the saint's foundation (presumably exemplified by its name in **lann*)? That is, one might argue that Lanpiran was passed over in the Tywarnhayle charter as the site of an ancient foundation but that other manors (as the same charter shows) were seized from the clerics of St Petroc whose nuclear lands were distant Lanwethenek and Bodmin. It is perhaps worth restating that all the significant ecclesiastical foundations in Domesday, including the church of St Petroc, possessed a name

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[53] Olson 1989, p. 95.

[54] Olson 1989, pp. 96-97: "the overwhelming preponderance of the collegiate church of St Petroc over other local ecclesiastical establishments as a landholder ... could be explained by the earlier presence of bishops there."

in *lann.[55]

St Petroc in Cornish and English Ecclesiastical Organisation[56]

Both Doble and Olson comment on the portrait of early Cornish Christianity in the *Vitae*, a portrait which "[relates] to a monastic church with a peripatetic bishop like Wethinoc and not to the world of eleventh-century Cornwall," and attribute this at least in part to a remembered early medieval Cornish (Celtic) Christianity.[57] Olson offers the monastic origin of certain Cornish churches as opposed to the "highly unsatisfactory alternative" of Cornish churches founded as "minster-churches under English auspices."[58] While the situation need not conform entirely to one or the other of these alternatives, certainly by the time of Domesday, several Cornish churches with arguably 'monastic' origins, including that of St Petroc, had come to resemble English minster churches. The church of St Petroc seems to share collegiate status with other Cornish foundations: the Cornish Domesday refers at times to 'canons' and the Devon Domesday refers to 'priests' of St Petroc.[59] St Petroc's church can be considered a minster church, as are all other churches mentioned in the Cornish

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[55] Chapter II, page 94.

[56] This section owes much to my reading, in draft form, of a paper by Oliver Padel, "Local Saints and Place-Names in Cornwall," (to appear in Local Saints and Local Cults, eds. Richard Sharpe and Alan Thacker) which the author very kindly provided to me.

[57] Olson 1989, p. 68. Doble (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 154) states this rather more forcefully than Olson, asserting that "the *Vita Petroci*, in making Petroc simply by turns a hermit and a leader of a band of monks, is drawing a faithful picture of a Celtic saint."

[58] Olson 1989, p. 95.

[59] Olson 1989, p. 87. Domesday mentions canons of St Germans, of St Achebran, of St Buryan, of St Carentoc, of St Piran (and here also a dean), of St Probus, of St Stephen at Launceston; clergy or priests appear at St Neots; St Michael's Mount perhaps also shared in this status (Olson 1989, pp. 88-90).

Domesday record.[60] Indeed, as noted above, the Cornish Domesday Inquest does not record churches which are not significant; those included conform to the pattern of minsters as described by John Blair.[61]

Evidence from before Domesday also suggests that some Cornish churches, including St Petroc's, fulfilled a significant pastoral function not unlike that attributed to English ministers.[62] Yet the provision of pastoral care in Cornwall is significantly different from the scheme described by Blair and others for English minsters in that it seems to have been, as far as can be known, very much locally based from an early (pre-Norman) period.

The organisation of medieval Cornish churches should perhaps be considered in conjunction with Cornwall's unusual settlement pattern: the Cornish Domesday shows, unlike other counties, "not only ... substantial villages but [also] many hamlets and scattered farmsteads."[63] Yet although Ann Preston-Jones and Peter Rose have detected in the parish of Padstow "the dispersed pattern of settlement which is typical of Cornwall ... dominated by *tre* ['farm'] names" which suggest early medieval origin, these seem deliberately and carefully

[60] Nevertheless, the Churches of St Michael's Mount and of St Petroc (as well as the Devon abbey, Tavistock) are singled out in the Domesday account: they alone are referred to as '*ecclesiae*' (Domesday Book: Cornwall, 3,1-7). This term, as Lynette Olson points out, is "otherwise employed in the Exchequer Domesday for substantial establishments, often abbeys" (1989, p. 90).

[61] Blair 1985, p. 106. Thus only twelve churches appear in the Cornish Domesday; these correspond to the twelve known Cornish minsters (Blair 1985, p. 110, map). However, one might include St Goron, mentioned in the Geld Inquest (Padel 1976-77, p. 26).

[62] See Blair 1985, p. 104, for the pastoral aspect of the English minsters. Ann Preston-Jones discerns a planned foundation of churches in the pre-Norman period and suggests the active involvement of the church of St Petroc in their founding. She argues that this distinctive phase of church foundation may have been intended specifically to provide pastoral care to a lay population (1992, p. 123).

[63] Ravenhill 1967, p. 304.

organised. The Padstow settlements are spread evenly and consistently:

> the spacing is controlled to a certain extent by the local topography, but it is so regular that it suggests a highly organised and carefully planned layout.[64]

Like the scattered but seemingly organised secular landscape, the ecclesiastical landscape is similarly small, local, and organised. Indeed Preston-Jones and Rose see, in the vicinity of Padstow, an illustration of "how the pre-Norman ecclesiastical sites in Padstow and St Merryn were integral components in this standardised layout." The ecclesiastical sites resemble secular settlements (*tres*) in that they are surrounded by an estate of land. Moreover, the estates surrounding Padstow are visibly larger than average. Consideration of place-names and churchyard shape adds another element to the pattern, that of the founding of churches or chapels by the earlier and larger communities such as that of St Petroc. Churches with rectilinear churchyards which mostly are named in *eglos-* seem to represent such later (although pre-Norman) foundations. The community of St Petroc seems, by the evidence of Domesday, to have possessed a significant number of these later *eglos*-foundations, and may have been involved in their establishment. Preston-Jones and Rose offer a possible model of development, using St Petroc's as an example, in which a *lann*, "[a settlement] of people dedicated to a religious life," would be "surrounded by an estate whose produce supported the community." The larger communities (such as St Petroc's) would gain land and found churches.[65]

Inasmuch as there is a discernable organising principle in the Cornish ecclesiastical landscape, it is not that of the English minsters. Certainly many of the Cornish foundations

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[64] Preston-Jones and Rose 1986, pp. 141, 143.

[65] Preston-Jones 1992, pp. 113, 123; Preston-Jones and Rose 1986, p. 143 and fig. 4, and pp. 158, 160. See above, page 183 and below, page 204.

are minsters in the sense of mother houses. Yet if there is a difference between minsters and what have been termed monasteries, it lies in their foundation. The first providers of English pastoral care, the minsters, as Blair repeatedly states, were foundations of kings, nobles, or bishops. Often this is a financial relationship; their *parochiae* were usually coterminous with the kingdom or diocese in a coherent network. This apparently deliberate attempt to centralise what may have been scattered local cult sites occurs in England from an early date; only later, from the late ninth century, do these *parochiae* fragment once again. The "truly local church" is, in England, a later development (even then most are princely or thegnly foundations), and the modern parish system post-dates the Conquest.[66]

However, in Cornwall, these churches had very different origins; these differences extend beyond the supposed 'monastic' character of Celtic ecclesiastical foundations, although this is probably chiefly what is indicated by the place-name element **lann-*. If Cornish houses were not founded by kings, princes, or bishops, and there is no evidence that such figures were paramount in ecclesiastical organisation, a different organising principle must be sought. The place-names of Cornwall, the tenth-century list of Brittonic saints, and even the Domesday Inquest combine to suggest that the organising principle in medieval Cornish churches might have been the saints themselves (that is, each local area). Certainly the Vatican list,[67] as Olson and Padel argue, implies "spheres of influence of [local, what were

[66] Blair 1985, pp. 104, 106, 116; 1988a, pp. 1, 7, 10; 1988b, pp. 35-36. Eric Cambridge and David Rollason have argued that the 'minster hypothesis' overemphasises the planned aspect of all churches (for example, 1995, p. 93: "in no way should the foundation of monasteries be confused with the necessarily episcopal process of establishing a system of pastoral care"). However, they later admit, "the system of church organisation in late Saxon England was intimately related to that of secular institutions" (1995, p. 103). Ultimately they stress "the achievements of kings of late Saxon England in the area of Church organisation" (1995, p. 104).

[67] above, note 21 and Chapter III, page 160.

to become parish] churches ... not long after the year 900"; they describe these as "proto-parishes."[68] These churches are not geographically coherent on the large scale; they seem to be arranged around the cults of saints rather than around centres of significant royal or episcopal authority. While Blair mentions English cults of saints which must have been absorbed by the English minster system, such cults do not figure significantly.[69] The opposite seems true of the Cornish houses. The different origins of the Cornish churches must have created foundations which, even though they might have come to resemble English minsters in many ways, were also fundamentally different. The cults of saints are not merely a superficial indication of this difference but perhaps rather lie at its heart. Moreover, the evidence of place-names and hagiographical texts suggests strongly that the saints commemorated at these sites were profoundly important as saints; these saints are profoundly connected to the local *place.*[70]

It seems clear that at least by the tenth century the greater Cornish churches were being absorbed into an English episcopal administration; thus the Cornish foundations come

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[68] Olson and Padel 1986, p. 69. Wendy Davies has detected in charters of the eastern Breton monastery, Redon, a class of priests with strong (often hereditary) local attachment to what can be best described as 'proto-parishes' and not significantly attached to Redon itself; this system seems to antedate the ninth-century charters (1983, pp. 188-91). Davies contrasts the situation in eastern Brittany not only with that of England but also with that of the insular Celtic areas, noting that pastoral care in the latter areas seems to have been mostly 'monastic'. She notes, however, that "in the light of the Breton evidence the insular institutions do ask for revaluation: the Breton material raises the question of the nature of the small 'monasteries' of the west midlands, Wales, and Ireland--perhaps they were churches served by small groups of priests, living a communal life, popularly known as 'monasteries'" (1983, pp. 195-6). Although the term 'monastery' is useful in speaking of the numerous small local churches of Cornwall, for example, one must be aware that these may have fulfilled various functions.

[69] Blair 1985, p. 142. The apparent absence of the cults of saints in the English minster context may be due, however, to the different emphasis of the English scholarship.

[70] Smith 1990, p. 337. See Chapters II and III, especially Chapter III, pages 170ff.

to resemble minsters. Blair notes especially the activities of Alfred and his children, and comments on the possibly recent character of these Cornish minster-like churches.[71] Olson has pointed to the involvement of English kings in the episcopal history of Cornwall, arguing that charters, or notices of charters, indicating that Athelstan established or re-established a Cornish bishopric at St Germans "reveal English initiative in constituting a recognised bishopric of Cornwall within the West Saxon domains, with Cornish personnel in the shape of Bishop Conan."[72] She locates this initiative, and the profession of Bishop Kenstec, in the larger sphere of Cornish-English relations.[73] King Athelstan is supposed to have acted as a benefactor to Padstow and Bodmin and to other Cornish churches, although his Cornish reputation seems to involve more elements than merely his specific status as an English king.[74] Yet Olson stresses that several Cornish foundations, including St Petroc's, "[benefited] from veneration forthcoming from the English and/or continuing among the Cornish."[75]

One might not go as far as Nicholas Orme, who suggests,

> the exceptional popularity [of St Petroc] compared with other Cornish saints ... may be attributed to his status as co-patron (with St Germanus) of the Saxon diocese of Cornwall, the importance of the church of Bodmin ..., and its proximity to English- as

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[71] Blair 1988a, p. 3. See Blair 1985, pp. 120-1: "Tenth-century kings were active patrons of the ancient Cornish houses, most of which had by now assumed the character of collegiate minsters."

[72] Olson 1989, p. 64.

[73] Olson (1989, p. 51) says of Kenstec's profession: "Obviously the document represents a stage in the assimilation of Cornwall into Anglo-Saxon England, underway in the ninth century."

[74] See Chapter II, note 112.

[75] above, page 189.

well as Cornish-speaking regions.[76]

Although the English-speaking world assisted the spreading fame of St Petroc in England itself,[77] the role of English patronage in Cornwall is less clear. While St Petroc would seem to have been sufficiently well-known and popular among the inhabitants of Cornwall (as the manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels suggest)[78] his church's landholding and political significance may have been affected by the involvement of English kings in its affairs.

Bodmin as a Minster

The role of several Anglo-Saxon kings and bishops has already been noted in connection with Cornish episcopal history.[79] In the early ninth century King Ecgberht granted Cornish estates to the bishop of Sherborne. Around the same time the archbishop of Canterbury received a profession of obedience from Kenstec, a bishop in Cornwall. In the early tenth century Edward the Elder apparently divided this bishopric into Sherborne, Wells, and Crediton.[80] Athelstan is thought to have founded (or refounded) a Cornish bishopric. Eadred granted the Cornish estates previously belonging to Sherborne to the Cornish bishopric. Finally, in 994 Æthelred confirmed the liberties of the bishopric.

As it seems clear that by Domesday several Cornish churches, including Bodmin,

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[76] Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165; see also p. 35: "In one or two instances, the Saxon conquest of Cornwall probably even promoted the spread of Celtic cults, notably that of Petroc."

[77] below, pages 220ff.

[78] Chapter II, pages 58ff.

[79] Chapter II, pages 64ff.

[80] This is based on the probable appointment of Eadulf as bishop of Crediton on the death of Asser in 909 (Blake 1982, p. 2).

closely resembled minsters, and as Blair repeatedly stresses the involvement of the highest ecclesiastical and secular officials in the foundation and siting of these English churches, one wonders about the position of St Petroc's own church, and specifically about the move of this church from Padstow to Bodmin. This move has already been examined in light of the likely isolation of Padstow from its possessions arising from Ecgberht's grant of Cornish estates and in light of a Viking raid on Padstow in 981.[81] A third, perhaps complementary possibility arises if one considers a conceivable reorganisation (at least in geographical terms) of some Cornish churches by Anglo-Saxon kings. In 1988, Blair stressed "the essential distinctness of the minsters as 'central places,'" and noted the proximity of many minsters to centralised forts or *tūns*.[82] While Bodmin's growth as a town and *burh* no doubt depended on the presence of St Petroc's priory, the move of this church from Padstow to Bodmin, while perhaps not initiated by a desire to approximate the English model, may have been influenced by such concerns. The ultimate arrival of this house at Bodmin, situated in the centre of the Cornish peninsula[83] and the place, it would seem, of a defended site (*Dinuurrin*),[84] might be seen as a more or less deliberate attempt to integrate St Petroc in particular into a pattern which more recognisably approximated that of the English minsters.

Royal patronage of and involvement in St Petroc's church, not at its founding but

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[81] Chapter II, pages 65ff.

[82] Blair 1988b, pp. 35, 40; see Chapter II, page 79, for the concentration of place-names in *tūn* ('farm, manor') around Bodmin.

[83] Soulsby 1986, p. 53.

[84] Chapter II, page 78.

perhaps in its later life, is not at all implausible.[85] The reputation of Athelstan, founder and patron of the Cornish bishopric and several churches, is perhaps relevant here.[86] The involvement of Alfred, Edward the Elder, or Athelstan in a move of the administrative centre of St Petroc's church would place this move well before the Viking raid of 981 and would support Olson's suggestion that the isolation of Padstow in the early ninth century led to the relocation of the administrative portion of St Petroc's church.[87] Yet despite the possible centralisation of Cornish churches in the later Anglo-Saxon period, by the time of Domesday the pattern of supposed minster churches in Cornwall was still erratic as compared to that of England. Bodmin, although preeminent, was not the only minster in the hundred which it had dominated. Significantly among the few other landholders are other notable churches, including the canons of St Piran at Lanpiran and the canons of St Crantock at their manor Crantock.[88]

Bodmin as an Augustinian House

The reign of Henry I saw the foundation of many houses of Augustinian canons, or

[85] See, for example, Olson 1989, p. 96, n. 211. Compare Susan Pearce's description of Stoke St Nectan/Hartland: "St Nectan's was probably an early British monastery, later an old English minster, and then turned into Augustinian canons. It had a tradition of patronage by Athelstan and Gytha, earl Godwin's wife" (1985, p. 266).

[86] David Dumville has recently stressed the necessity, during Athelstan's reign, of integrating various recently acquired territories with Wessex and has pointed to administrative councils and legislation (1992, pp. 147-8). He goes on to state that the "essential restructuring of the diocesan system had been undertaken in Edward the Elder's day," but notes that Athelstan's unique contribution to this process occurred in Cornwall (1992, p. 162).

[87] Olson 1989, p. 73.

[88] See above, page 179.

the substitution of secular canons with the regular canons of this "new and fashionable" order.[89] Secular canons were especially common in the west country, and while the foundation of new houses eventually came to be concentrated in the midlands and east of England, the transformation of large collegiate churches into Augustinian houses was striking in Devon and Cornwall.[90] A "prominent feature" of the foundation or installation of regular canons was the patronage of the royal court, both kings and their entourages.[91]

William Warelwast, bishop of Exeter from 1107-37 and nephew of William the Conqueror, was known to have installed regular canons at three monasteries in his diocese: Plympton, Launceston, and Bodmin.[92] The head of Bodmin priory at the time, according to a narrative of Laon, was named Algar.[93] This Algar was to become bishop of Coutances, and both Henderson and Grosjean connect the granting of this see to the installation of regular canons at Bodmin.[94] Canons from Merton priory, which had been founded in the early

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[89] Robinson 1980, vol. I, p. 25.

[90] Robinson 1980, vol. I, pp. 31, 35; Dickinson 1950, p. 241. The earlier period of foundation extended all over England (but little into Wales), but after *c.* 1135 it was mostly apparent in the midlands and the east (Robinson 1980, vol. I, pp. 29-31).

[91] Robinson 1980, vol. I, pp. 25-6, 64.

[92] Dickinson 1950, p. 128; Henderson 1935, p. 221.

[93] "De Miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis," col. 983; Tatlock 1933, *passim*; Henderson 1935, p. 220. Henderson states that the refounder of Bodmin was named as Algar by William Worcestre (1935, p. 221), but this is probably an error for John Leland (Tatlock 1933, p. 462).

[94] Henderson sees Algar's promotion to Coutances as inspiring the transformation, "on lines more in accordance with Continental fashion" (1935, p. 221); Grosjean views Algar's move to Coutances as a compensation for his ceding of his position at Bodmin ("Vies," p. 144). Picken has been able to piece together some additional information: a 'prior Algar' appears in the Pipe Roll of 1130 (PR 31 Henry I, p. 160); Picken argues that this must be our Algar. Algar also visited Exeter in 1133 as bishop of Coutances (he was consecrated in 1132; Dickinson 1950, p. 119). Finally, Leland's *Collectanea* describes Algar and William Warelwast's cooperation in this process and states that these things "transcripta sunt ex antiquis Donationum chartis" (Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, vol. I, p. 76; Picken 1980, p. 50).

twelfth century by Gilbert the Sheriff (one of Henry I's 'new men') and enjoyed much royal attention in its early life, came during the 1120s to establish the regular rule at Bodmin.[95] An account of Merton's early history names Algar, "now the bishop of Coutances but then the *procurator* of that place," as co-founder, with William Warelwast, of the Augustinian house at Bodmin, which was now to be the priory of St Mary and St Petroc.[96] The substitution of rules at Bodmin occurred between 1120 and 25.[97] At this time, Henderson argues, a new conventual church was probably built (the old church becoming parochial) and the relics of St Petroc moved into it.[98] Although the Augustinian priory of Bodmin was founded as a 'daughter-house' of Merton, this does not seem to have affected Bodmin's subsequent status as an independent house, and it is consistently presented as such in the accounts of its history.[99]

The Possessions of St Petroc in Cornwall: after Domesday

The seizure of land from St Petroc, mostly by the count of Mortain, seems to have been permanent and enduring, although later manorial history offers hints that previous connections were not entirely obliterated. The 'usurped' Domesday manor of Tolcarne is

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[95] Dickinson 1950, pp. 117-19. According to Robinson the period between 1120 and 1130 witnessed a "veritable explosion" in the foundation of Augustinian houses (1980, vol. I, p. 25).

[96] "nunc Constantiensis ecclesie presul ... tunc autem ilius loci procurator" (Dickinson 1950, p. 119, n. 1; from London, BL Royal MS. 8 E. ix, f. 95v). Knowles and Hadcock also mention the licence of the king (1971, p. 148).

[97] Knowles and Hadcock 1971, p. 148; Leland gives the date of 1125 (Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, vol. I, p. 76; Picken 1980, p. 50).

[98] Henderson 1935, p. 222.

[99] see, for example, Snell 1967, p. 124.

perhaps a typical example: although it shows no connection with St Petroc in the intervening period, at least a part of the manor would seem to have been held of the prior of Bodmin in the early sixteenth century.[100] Another 'usurped' manor, Lancarffe, is equally representative in the complexity and ambiguity of its tenurial history. It appears among the possessions of Bodmin priory in the dissolution accounts, the *Computus Ministrorum*; according to the editors of these accounts it rendered a very small sum, 1 *d*.[101] However, the Public Record Office original (London, PRO, Special Collection, No. 6, membrane 2) states further that until recently Lancarffe had paid a considerable rent of 40 shillings.[102] Lancarffe seems to have been a sizeable conventionary tenement of Bodmin priory, although its interim history, between Domesday and the dissolution, is obscure. Part of the confusion surrounding Lancarffe's status can be explained by Picken's argument that there were two estates called Lancarffe, one the ecclesiastical possession of Bodmin priory, and another a secular estate (also called Lancarffe, or often 'Middle Lancarffe'), dominated by the Walesbrew family.[103]

The erratic nature of these tenurial records (and the resulting obscurity of the tenurial chronology) can be explained at least in part with reference to the different types of tenancy. Free tenements (paying a very low, mostly fixed rent and heritable by right)[104] were, by

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[100] According to a postmortem inquisition dated 24 Henry VII, Thomas Tregarthen held 3 messuages and 500 acres of arable land in Tolcame (as well as other lands) of Thomas, the prior of Bodmin (Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Second Series, vol. III, no. 857).

[101] Oliver 1846, p. 21 and Gilbert 1838, vol. IV, p. 345.

[102] Letter received from W.M.M. Picken, May 18, 1995.

[103] Letter received from W.M.M. Picken, May 17, 1995; Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 261. Inquisitions and Assessments, pp. 199, 205, 214, and 230; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, vol. XV, nos. 628-9; Calendar of the Fine Rolls, vol. IX, pp. 342 and 369. See also below, page 210, for post-dissolution land in Lancarffe.

[104] Soulsby 1986, p. 47; Hatcher 1970b, p. 2.

their very nature, less tied to a parent-manor than customary or conventionary tenements, and thus are less well documented; conventionary tenements, on the other hand, were flexible and subject to frequent revision.[105] The exact status, therefore, of the eleven manors held of the saint by Count Robert and his men and those usurped by the count is uncertain: many appear among the records of Bodmin's possessions only much later. Both types of manor exist in a more distant relationship to St Petroc than those Domesday manors held by the saint as 'demesne'. The seven Domesday Manors thus held by the saint (as well as Pendavey) continued to be associated with St Petroc until the dissolution, as various records show.

Episcopal registers, beginning with that of Walter Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter 1257-80, show no great acquisitions of land or privileges, but do show the steady importance of Bodmin priory as a landholder and patron of various churches.[106] Grandisson's register (1327-1369) includes a record of an inquisition given at Lostwithiel March 18, 1348-49 (23 Edward III) before John Dabernoun, the sheriff and steward of the Duchy of Cornwall for

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[105] John Hatcher has examined the conventionary tenants found not only among manors of the Duchy of Cornwall but also throughout the county itself, yet not in the rest of England (except for parts of Devon); "the basic conditions of [conventionary tenants or *conventionarii*] were not hereditary security of tenure with rents and obligations regulated by custom, but a seven-year lease at a free market rent with negligible services and no renewal as of right" (1970a, p. 52). By 1333 these conventionary tenants (from the seven-year *conventio*) could either be free or unfree in status (Hatcher 1970b, pp. 3-4, 7; Caption of Seisin, p. xxxi). See also Levett 1938, pp. 54-7 for the different types of rents and services recorded by several abbeys. In the case of St Petroc, the example of St Enoder is perhaps typical: held of the saint by the count in Domesday, it is described as a free tenement of Bodmin priory in 1201 (Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars, vol. II, no. 614) and does not appear again in the records in connection with Bodmin priory. See also the attachment of numerous scattered free tenements to Bodmin priory's manor of Rialton in a slightly later period (below, note 170).

[106] The patronage of churches is striking: in the Register of Walter de Stapledon (1307-1326), p. 52, the prior and convent of Bodmin have the patronage of St Minver, Withiel, and a prebend in St Endillion. In the Register of John de Grandisson (1327-1369), vol. III, p. 1672, the prior and convent have the patronage of St Cubert, a prebend at St Endillion, St Minver, Bodmin parish church, Padstow, and Withiel.

Edward, the Black Prince. According to the record of the inquisition,

> The jury found that the priory of Bodmin was an ancient religious house, founded from time immemorial by one of the kings of England, whose name was unknown to them; that from the time beyond the memory of man, the Bishop of Exeter, for the time being, held the patronage of that same priory, with its custody in time of vacancy ...[107]

The inquisition lists various possessions of Bodmin priory, "held in free, pure, and perpetual almoigne," including include the Balliwick of the Hundred of Pyder.[108] Bodmin Priory was dissolved February 27, 1539; according to dissolution records (the brief *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 and the much more detailed *Computus Ministrorum* of 1539) of the three Cornish Augustinian priories, Bodmin's income was second only to Launceston (and greater than that of St Germans).[109] The income of the sole Cornish Benedictine priory (Tywardreath) was below that of the Augustinian houses.[110]

An Example of Ecclesiastical Landholding: Cubert

The area of Cubert (the name of the church and parish) or Ellenglaze (the name of the

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[107] The Register of John de Grandisson, vol. II, p. 1077; Oliver 1846, p. 15. See below, page 205, for the custody of the priory.

[108] These possessions include several appearing here for the first time; among these is Lelissick (spelled Lellizzick on the 1981 1:25 000 scale Ordnance Survey map of Padstow; Ordnance Survey Pathfinder Series. Padstow and Wadebridge. Sheet SW 87/97 (1981)). Lelissick is a farm in Padstow parish, about ½ kilometre in from the coastal path which runs north from Padstow along the Camel towards the sea. A chapel of St Samson is thought to have existed at this farm or at a site called Cove, on the bank of the Camel (Doble 1938, p. 24; Henderson in Doble 1938, p. 56; Henderson 1955-60, p. 377) and is thought to have inspired the inclusion in the Vitae Petroci of a hermit (and in the Vita II the archbishop of Dol) Samson. See Chapter II, page 46. See below, page 214, for the balliwick of Pyder.

[109] Snell 1967, p. 63. For the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* see Gilbert 1838, vol. IV, p. 344; Oliver 1846, p. 20; and Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. II, p. 400. For the Bodmin accounts of the *Computus Ministrorum* see Oliver 1846, p. 21; and Gilbert 1838, vol. IV, p. 345.

[110] Snell 1967, pp. 136-37.

manor) provides an example of the potential involvement of the church of St Petroc in a specific site. Although the whole of Pyder Hundred (in which Cubert lies) is thought to have been dominated by St Petroc before the Conquest, Cubert itself is especially consistent in its connection with this church. St Petroc held this manor in its earliest documentation, the Domesday survey. The church of Cubert, founded some time before the Conquest, seems to have formed part of a planned provision of pastoral care by the church of St Petroc.[111] The prior and convent of Bodmin had the patronage of the church according to the earliest surviving bishop's register;[112] this church and manor also appear among the *temporalia* and *spiritualia* of the prior and convent from the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas (1291)[113] to the dissolution records of 1535 and 1539.[114] Not all of St Petroc's possessions show such a consistent record of association with the priory; many appear from obscure origins or disappear soon after Domesday (some to reappear in dissolution records). Yet Cubert provides one example of St Petroc's influence over a local area over a period of at least some 700 years.

Bodmin Priory and the Bishops of Exeter

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[111] see above, page 183.

[112] The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, p. 170.

[113] The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, p. 470. The *Taxatio* for the whole of England was published in 1801 by the Record Commission; each bishop also kept a copy of the assessment for his diocese (Lunt 1939-62, vol. I, p. 354). A fourteenth-century copy was bound in with Bronescombe's register (printed in Oliver 1846, pp. 456-71 and The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, pp 450-481); another copy appears in BL Add. ms. 24057 ff. 88-107v (Lunt 1939-62, vol. I, p. 669). The text printed by Hingeston-Randolph in the Registers, seemingly from the same source as that printed by Oliver, is much more detailed than Oliver's (it lists patrons for several churches), and forms the basis of this discussion.

[114] Gilbert 1838, vol. IV, p. 344-5; Oliver 1846, p. 20-21; Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. II, p. 400,

The inquisition of 1348-9 had noted that the bishop of Exeter was the patron of the priory; this would seem to have been an older arrangement.[115] A charter in the Cartulary of Launceston Priory in Cornwall, possibly a forgery, records the granting by Henry I of several Cornish churches, including St Petroc and St Stephen (Launceston), to the church of St Peter, at Exeter.[116] The matter of the charter, if it is indeed a forgery, is abundantly confirmed elsewhere; an *inspeximus* of 1362 exists,[117] as does a plea before Richard II which seems to quote this or a similar charter.[118] In addition, a bull of Pope Eugenius of 1146 confirmed St Petroc's church at Bodmin as a possession of the cathedral church of Exeter.[119] A precept of 1215 ordered the sheriff of Cornwall to give the priory over to the bishop; within a period of time the bishop was to show him the king's charter and those of his *antecessores*.[120]

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[115] See also the notation of 1311 that the bishop had the advowson of Bodmin priory (Calendar of the Patent Rolls. Edward II, vol. I, p. 377).

[116] The Cartulary of Launceston Priory, no. 2.

[117] Calendar of the Charter Rolls, vol. V, pp. 170-72. This *inspeximus*, dated 36 Edward III, 1362 pp. 170-72) cites several charters, most (but not all) concerned with the possessions of the diocese of Exeter. The first charter confirmed is that of Henry I (Henry's language, as quoted here, reads "reddo et restituo"); the second is that of Stephen (Stephen, acknowledging his predecessor's grant, states, "concedo et confirmo"); the third is an unspecified charter of 28 Henry III; the fourth is a charter of 55 Henry III which itself inspects several grants, one of which is dated March 26, 1 John, concerning the bishop of Exeter's patronage of the Cornish churches (Rotuli Chartarum, p. 40; Oliver 1846, p. 72).

[118] This charter (a plea of 2 Richard II) was printed by Dugdale (1655-73, vol. vi p. 52); see also Oliver 1846, p. 134.

[119] The Cartulary of Launceston Priory, no. 8.

[120] A brief version of this was edited by Thomas Duffus Hardy (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 193). See also Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 125. Maclean cites an *inspeximus* of this "soon after 1379" (Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 129); this would seem to be that of 3 Richard II cited below (see page 210). Maclean describes the subject of the *inspeximus* as a charter of 17 John (1215) ordering the sheriff to protect the priory as the king's own demesne; Wallis describes an undated charter inspected by Richard II which states that the king's chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, has ordered that the priory is the king's demesne ([Wallis 1838], p. 150). The precept published by Hardy merely orders the sheriff give the priory to the bishop and warns that

Later, however, the king was claiming the right of patronage of Bodmin: an entry in the Fine Rolls for 1366 states that the king "has long been defrauded of his right of patronage of the priory of Bodmin;" henceforth, the entry continues, the king and his heirs (especially the Black Prince, the duke of Cornwall) were to claim "the advowson of the priory and the possession and seisin of the temporalities thereof whenever it shall fall void in future."[121] Clearly the patronage of Bodmin by bishop and king was at times unclear to those most immediately concerned.

The effects of the position of the bishop as patron of Cornish priories have been disputed; L.E. Elliott-Binns lamented the strain on the finances of Cornish ecclesiastical bodies imposed by the bishop and the administration of the diocese of Exeter.[122] Christopher Holdsworth, however, points to the monasteries as a financial drain on the bishop and the diocese.[123] Charles Henderson noted that the bishops of Exeter did not seem to have retained any of the lands of Bodmin priory in their possession,[124] and there is no reason to doubt his statement that "the Bishops of Exeter remained generous patrons of the Priory until the dissolution."[125]

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the charter will have to be produced; the charter itself is probably the subject of these confirmations.

[121] Calendar of the Fine Rolls, vol. VII, p. 330. This, it may be noted, was after the Black Death almost eliminated the canons of Bodmin priory (Elliott-Binns 1955, p. 89).

[122] Elliott-Binns 1955, pp. 286 and 327.

[123] Holdsworth 1991, p. 42; subsequently, however, Holdsworth reverses this and suggests that the diocesan machinery may have consumed a relatively large portion of the wealth of Devon and Cornwall at the expense of the monasteries (1991, p. 46).

[124] This does not include lands possibly usurped from St Petroc in the ninth century and passed via the bishops of Sherborne to the bishops of Cornwall, to the bishops of Crediton and finally to the bishops of Exeter (above, pages 183ff).

[125] Henderson 1936, p. 31.

Bodmin Priory, the English Crown, and the Duchy of Cornwall

King John and his son Richard, earl of Cornwall, figure prominently in the record of Bodmin's rights and possessions. The area around Tintagel, for example was the subject of some considerable negotiation with the earl. Bossiney, the manor which included Tintagel,[126] was held at Domesday by the count of Mortain of St Petroc. Like other manors so held, its connection to St Petroc did not survive long,[127] and it passed to the earldom of Cornwall by the twelfth century. Other "antiqua maneria" (as the Mortain manors which formed the basis of the earldom and later the duchy of Cornwall are known)[128] of the count were the nearby Domesday manors of Trenuth and Trebarwith.[129] By 1166 Earl Reginald of

[126] Maclean 1873-79, vol. III, p. 191; Picken 1990, p. 271. The manor only became known as Tintagel after 1200 (Padel 1988b, p. 63).

[127] The Cartulary of Launceston Priory casts an interesting light on William, count of Mortain (the son of Count Robert): within the Cartulary is a document which appears to inform several prominent landholders that William has granted to St Stephen's, Launceston, and St Petroc, Bodmin, lands and customs for the soul of his mother and father (The Cartulary of Launceston Priory, no. 14; the same document seems to have been calendared by Davis and Whitwell, Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, Vol. I, no 680). The counts of Mortain are not known to have donated any land to Bodmin; rather the reverse. Hull points out, however, that a grant by William's father Robert to St Stephen's, Launceston, while phrased as a donation mostly confirms existing endowments (The Cartulary of Launceston Priory, p. xii; no. 3). It seems that father and son, the counts of Mortain, usurped some ecclesiastical lands and characterised those not usurped, in charters, as pious grants. Bodmin priory also suffered partial usurpation of its estates at the hands of the count of Mortain; one suspects that if a Cartulary had survived for Bodmin priory one might see similar charters.

[128] Caption of Seisin, p. x. Christopher Holdsworth has advanced the intriguing suggestion that the great size of the estate at the heart of the earldom and later duchy of Cornwall "may have had a lot to do with the paucity of monastic foundations within that county" (Holdsworth 1991, p. 46). One might argue, however, that this "paucity" came at least partially as a result of the depredations of the count of Mortain, especially at the expense of St Petroc's foundation, as illustrated in the Domesday Book. Yet Holdsworth's point that great landowners seemed to patronise monasteries outside the diocese is certainly relevant here (1991, p. 46).

[129] Caption of Seisin, p. xi; Domesday Book: Cornwall, 5,6,3 and 5,4,8. The Thorns identify the site named in 5,4,8 as *Treverbet* as Trebarfoote (Trebarfoote is northwards along the coast, about 16 kilometres from Tintagel). I.S. Maxwell reconsidered the names of the Cornish

Cornwall held Bossiney, although not in demesne: Roger de Mandeville was his sub-tenant.[130] The tenurial history of Bossiney is somewhat obscure, but by 1182 Gervase, who later described himself as 'de Hornicote' from another Cornish manor which he possessed, also had Bossiney, apparently as tenant-in-chief.[131] The son of Gervase, Robert, inherited the two manors, but while his father had taken his name from the more valuable of the two manors, Hornacott, Robert, by 1207, had taken his name from a site in the other, Tintagel.[132] Padel describes this choice of nomenclature as "remarkable," noting that Tintagel was of "no administrative significance" and had "no known strategic significance." The growing significance of Tintagel, Padel concludes, must be due to its Arthurian associations, transmitted chiefly through Geoffrey of Monmouth.[133] King John's son, Richard received the title of earl of Cornwall from his brother Henry III in 1227[134] and

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Domesday manors (with advice from Oliver Padel, who had advised the Thorns) and suggested that *Treverbet* should be Trebarwith (Maxwell 1986, p. 27). Hull seems to imply that both Trebarwith and Trenuth (which he spells Trenewith) were held at Domesday of St Petroc (Caption of Seisin, p. xi n. 6); however, neither Trebarfoote, Trebarwith nor Trenuth are connected with the saint in Domesday.

[130] Padel 1988b, p. 62; Red Book of the Exchequer, Vol. I, p. 262.

[131] Elliott-Binns states that in the twelfth century Henry fitz Count (who seems to have had the county of Cornwall in farm at some point; see Chapter VI, page 316) alienated Bossiney to this family (1955, p. 158; see also Sincock 1890-91, p. 171). It is clear that Bossiney and Hornacott formed a single fief which Gervase ('son of William') and then Robert inherited from Roger de Mandeville (Padel 1988b, pp. 63, 66; PR 13 John, p. 161). According to Hull, at the crowning of John (count of Mortain and holder of Cornwall) as king in 1199 the Mortain fiefs merged with the Crown and the sub-tenants became tenants-in-chief (Caption of Seisin, pp. xi-xii); this might explain why the new earl of Cornwall had to regain this manor by granting others. The earldom or duchy lands, at any rate, were not stabilised until the 1337 Caption of Seisin which created the duchy.

[132] Padel 1988b, p. 63; PR 9 John, p. 77.

[133] Padel 1988b, pp. 63, 65; 1984, p. 11; 1981, p. 71.

[134] Elliott-Binns 1955, p. 159; Soulsby 1986, pp. 42-3.

successfully sought to regain the manor and castle.[135] Significantly, he first obtained the island of Tintagel (with access through the manor of Bossiney) and only three years later acquired the manor itself.[136] Arguably, Earl Richard was exploiting the Arthurian aspect of his earldom, a suggestions which is supported by his construction of a castle, a "folly" at the site.[137]

Earl Richard also sought to augment his holdings in the area surrounding Tintagel. This resulted in some arrangement between the earl and the prior of Bodmin concerning the Domesday manor of Treknow, which was given to Ricl rd (except for tithes) in exchange for rent from the burgesses of Bodmin (usually paid to the earl) and woods of Kingswood and Callewith.[138] Thus the tithes from Treknow in Tintagel parish appear in a late-thirteenth-century enumeration of Bodmin's *spiritualia*[139] (as well as in the dissolution *Computus*

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[135] Padel dates the acquisition of Tintagel to 1233 and that of Bossiney to within three years of this date (1988b, pp. 64, 66), based on PRO E36/57, f. 44v, no. 163 (this is "the Cartulary (so-called) of Earl Edmund;" Caption of Seisin, p. xi, n. 7; see also Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, vol. I, p. xxxix). The exchange of Bossiney appears in this same Cartulary, f. 18v, no. 57 and was confirmed by Henry III (Padel 1988b, p. 66; Calendar of the Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 215). See also Maclean 1873-79, vol. III, p. 191 and Henderson 1925, p. 204.

[136] Padel 1988b, p. 64. In 1258 the Earl gave the church of Bossiney to the French abbey of Fontevrault (Henderson 1925, p. 205; see also The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, pp. 185-86); Fontevrault held this benefice of the Manor of Tintagel and paid 12 d. per annum (Maclean, 1873-79, vol. III, p. 217; Caption of Seisin pp. 32 and 148). In the early fifteenth century it (and other possessions of alien priories) passed to the crown and was then sold (Maclean 1873-79, vol. III, p. 218).

[137] Padel 1988b, p. 64.

[138] Maclean does not give the location of this charter (if indeed it is still extant), but refers to an *inspeximus* and confirmation of 1374 (November 10, 48 Edward III), which concerns this rent and the woods of Kyngeswood and Kelliwithe (Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 209; Calendar of the Patent Rolls. Edward III, vol. XVI, p. 26).

[139] This is in Bishop Bytton's 'brief' register (1292-1307): "decimes ... provenientes de villa et hominibus de Trenou Parochie de Tyntagel" (The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, p. 402).

Ministrorum) and Callewith (with associated woods) appears among Bodmin's possessions to the dissolution.[140]

In a charter known from an *inspeximus* of 13 Edward I (1285), Earl Richard of Cornwall also granted to the prior and convent of Bodmin, "all the lands, possessions, liberties, charters and protections which they had of his ancestors."[141] Also included in the 1285 *inspeximus* are fishing rights in the Alan (probably the River Camel)[142] granted by King John.[143]

Unlike the granting of St Petroc's church to the bishop of Exeter, which had been dated to Henry I, the earliest charter cited in the 1285 *inspeximus* as granting the liberties and possessions of Bodmin priory is apparently that of John. Yet although John's own charter is somewhat difficult to establish, further investigation shows that the confirmation of Bodmin's possessions had also been attributed to Henry I. Several confirmations of John's charters are extant. Oliver cited an *inspeximus* of 3 Richard II, somewhat incomplete, which dated John's charter granting fishing rights to December 1, 1 John.[144] However, a copy of this

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[140] Callewith wood appears along with 'Margett Moors' as part of lands "formerly belonging to Bodmin Priory ... at the time of the dissolution" in the Tithe Appointment Survey of Cardinham of 1839 (Elx 1926-27, pp. 378-379; Kain 1986, p. 476). A charter of 1611 gave Bodmin Priory manor (in the custody of the crown from the dissolution), including one messuage in Lancarffe and a wood called Margairet Wood, to George and Thomas Whitemore of London (Maclean 1873-79, pp. 246-47). Modern Callywith and Margate woods are about two kilometres east of Bodmin; Ordnance Survey Pathfinder Series. Bodmin. Sheet SX 06/16 (1987).

[141] See below, note 148.

[142] See Chapter II, note 203.

[143] Calendar of the Charter Rolls, vol. II, p. 323.

[144] Oliver 1846, p. 18. Confirmations of the *inspeximus* of 3 Richard II are recorded for 1 Henry IV, 3 Henry VI, and 2 Edward IV (Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, pp. 202b, 241, 272, 306b; Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 209). The charter is more accurately dated December 13 (below, note 149).

inspeximus of Richard II was apparently housed among other documents in the Bodmin town archives in the nineteenth century.[145] It was, as John Wallis described it,[146] an *inspeximus* of two charters: the first item confirmed was an undated charter of John stating that the priory is the king's demesne;[147] the second item confirmed was a charter of Edward I.

This second item would seem to be the *inspeximus* of 1285, discussed above, and Wallis, apparently having access to Bodmin's own copy, was able to give a fuller account than that published in the Public Record Office Calendar. Wallis described the 1285 *inspeximus* as confirming two items.[148] Of these, one was a charter of John from 1199 confirming the lands of Bodmin priory held under Henry I and Henry II;[149] the other is a charter of the thirteenth-century Richard Earl of Cornwall granting (or confirming) the

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[145] [Wallis 1838], p. 9.

[146] [Wallis 1838], pp. 150-53.

[147] See above, note 120. The month and day of the charter are given, but no year is listed.

[148] Both Wallis and the Public Record Office Calendar (above, note 143) list an inspeximus of 13 Edward I. The PRO notice is dated September 9, Wallis's June 12. Some of the same material is covered: both mention the liberties of the priory's burgesses of Bodmin and concern the payment of the same sum as annual payment. Several significant differences (in addition to the dates), however, render a clear assessment impossible: the PRO notice presents all grants as made by Richard (John is mentioned only with reference to fishing), including the granting of the lands and possessions of the priory. Wallis's notice presents similar material in the same order but attributes the grant of the priory's possessions to John, presenting this as a separate step in the inspection process (and giving a date, December 13 1199). John's contribution of fishing rights as known from an *inspeximus* of 3 Richard II. The date of the *inspeximus* which Wallis is citing has been dated by Oliver to December 1, 1199; Wallis (or his material) gives the date of December 13 for what would seem to be the same material and this date is supported by another charter source, the Rotuli Chartarum (below, note 149). The various charters are known at this point only from several layers of inspection; the proper sequence of dates and donations is impossible to establish.

[149] What survives of this charter, dated December 13, is printed in Rotuli Chartarum, p. 63: it mentions possessions held by Bodmin at the time of Henry I or (*vel*) Henry II.

liberties of the borough.[150] According to this charter John's role was to confirm lands and possessions of Bodmin priory which had been granted at least by Henry I and Henry II; the granting, however, of rights of fishing on the River Alan may have been John's own contribution.[151]

Other Rights and Privileges of the Priory and the Town

Bodmin priory probably held the borough of Bodmin from before Domesday and the priory retained its rights over the borough of Bodmin until the dissolution.[152] The earliest known incorporation of Bodmin is that of Earl Richard:[153] his charter had granted the liberties of the borough of Bodmin, the freedom of the burgesses from tax, the privilege of a guild merchant (which, the charter notes, the borough had possessed for some time), and other

[150] Henderson, for example, attributes the granting of a Guild-Merchant to John and the confirmation of this to his son, Earl Richard (1935, p. 75). Certainly in 1197 the burgesses of Bodmin were obliged to pay a fine for having a guild without warrant (Trenholme 1927, p. 53; PR 26 Henry II, p. 96).

[151] The fishing was apparently at least for a time in John's hands: an item in the Pipe Roll for 1200 concerns holdings of the canons of Bodmin: a wood ('bosco de Rodan') and fishing on the Alan "que sunt in manu regis" and notes a fine paid for the confirmation of these (PR 2 John, p. 224).

[152] While Bodmin seems to have been a borough according to Domesday (above, page 177), and while it would seem to have been held by the priory from an early date (even at its origin), there is no direct evidence of "charters of customary liberties ... granted by the Norman priory ... and the [assumption of] the status of a private borough" as Trenholme would have it (1927, p. 53) in the immediate post-Domesday period. The Pipe Roll of 26 Henry II, however, does mention the burgesses of Bodmin (Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 208; Trenholme 1927, p. 53; PR 26 Henry II, p. 96).

[153] The earldom was, according to Soulsby, a significant stimulus to the chartering of boroughs in Cornwall, and Earl Richard, "in particular," granted charters to several towns, including Bodmin, during his life (1986, p. 52).

rights.[154] The charter of incorporation of Bodmin of 1562-3 (March 11, 5 Elizabeth) recognised several aspects of Bodmin's history: it was an ancient borough, it was part of the possessions of the priory, and it held its privileges from royal grants to the priory.[155] Bodmin was one of the "largest and richest towns" for much of the Middle Ages, according to Charles Henderson;[156] in particular its status as a possession of the priory led to many bitter disputes.[157]

Various secular procedures were transacted at the town of Bodmin. According to an undated petition, the burgesses argued that the county court had been moved from Bodmin to Lostwithiel by Earl Edmund in the late thirteenth century and asked that it be held once more at Bodmin.[158] Occasional inquisitions were held at Bodmin,[159] as well as some

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[154] Calendar of the Charter Rolls, vol. II, p. 323. The borough of Bodmin also paid rent to the earl of Cornwall until this was exchanged for the priory's manor of Treknow; henceforth this rent was paid to the priory (above, page 209).

[155] Maclean 1973-79, vol. I, p. 211; [Wallis 1838], pp. 154-60.

[156] Henderson 1935, p. 223.

[157] Elliott-Binns 1955, p. 208; Rowse 1941, pp. 88-89; Trenholme 1927, pp. 53-4.

[158] Trenholme 1927, p. 53, citing London, Public Record Office, Ancient Petitions, file 207, no. 13334. The statement of the rights of the duchy borough of Launceston contained in the 1337 Caption of Seisin give a different view: in 1337 the burgesses of Launceston argued that the county courts had originally been held at Launceston, that Earl Richard had moved them to Bodmin, and that Earl Edmund had moved them to Lostwithiel. The county courts, however, remained at Lostwithiel (Caption of Seisin, pp. xliv-xlv, and pp. 4-5). The claims of the Launceston burgesses went beyond the location of the county courts: they further claimed that the vill of Bodmin was within the liberty of Launceston and that pleas held at Bodmin should in fact be pleaded in the Launceston borough court. The Caption of Seisin was "non-committal" concerning this, and the claim was reasserted in 1342 (Caption of Seisin, p. xliv, and p. 5).

[159] Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, vol. I, nos. 2249 and 2322, vol. II, nos. 1088 and 1265, vol. III, no. 17, vol. IV, nos. 221 and 331, vol. V, nos. 305 and 324, vol. VII, no. 96; see also Curia Regis Rolls, vol. 10, pp. 229-31, and vol. 12, pp. 62-3) and Caption of Seisin, p. xxiv.

postmortem inquisitions.[160] These latter were also held at other Cornish towns, and no doubt the location was a matter of administrative convenience. However, one inquisition mentions service and payments for lands held by Thomas, son of Odo Lercedekne which include a greyhound to be rendered to the steward of Cornwall at Bodmin on Easter Day; clearly Bodmin is here more than a nearby town.[161] The priory's seigneurial position over the borough of Bodmin would also have involved the priory in several levels of justiciary duties concerning the town:[162] in 1201 a royal assize upheld a decision made at the prior's court which had been overturned by force.[163]

At the creation of the duchy of Cornwall in 1337 the prior of Bodmin was described as the bailiff in fee of the Hundred of Pyder.[164] This balliwick seems to have been attached to the manor of Rialton,[165] a possession of the priory from Domesday to the dissolution.[166] This valuable manor[167] seems to have been both an important

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160 Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, vol. III, no. 532 (27 Edward I); vol. XV, nos. 147 (2 Richard II) and 628 (5 Richard II); vol. XVI, no. 361 (10 Richard II); vol. XVII, nos. 25 (15 Richard II) and 422 (17 Richard II); vol. XVIII, nos. 31 (1 Henry IV), 34 (2 Henry IV) and 35 (2 Henry IV).

161 Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, vol. VII, no. 345 (5 Edward III).

162 Trenholme 1927, pp. 82-6.

163 Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars, vol. II, nos. 478, 522.

164 Caption of Seisin, p. 134.

165 According to the inquisition of 1348-49 and the *Computus Ministrorum* (Oliver 1846, pp. 15 and 21).

166 See Henderson 1955-60, p. 94. At the dissolution the manors of Rialton and Reterth as well as the balliwick of Pyder were granted as a package (Parliamentary Survey, pt. I, p. 120).

167 Rowse 1945, p. 112.

administrative site (at times the location of the prior's court)[168] and a significant holder of lands[169] for the priory; perhaps these two aspects of its history are connected.[170]

The priory and its borough also occupied a primary administrative position in ecclesiastical affairs. Few Cornish cartularies survive, but those of Launceston Priory and St Michael's Mount show the constant involvement of Bodmin in the business of the archdeaconry from the twelfth to at least the early fifteenth century.[171]

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[168] Rialton figures as the location of the prior's court for some time: from the earliest mention made of service owed at the prior's court in the Inquisitions post mortem (Edward II) this court is located at Rialton; later the same records mention a court now at Bodmin (Henry IV); Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, vols. V, no. 122 and XVIII, no. 322. The records of the royal assize of 1201 mention the prior's court but do not specify a location (see above, note 163).

[169] Although it never formed part of the Duchy, the 'manor of Rialton and Reterth' was surveyed in 1650 along with Duchy lands as part of lands vested in the Crown (Parliamentary Survey, pt. I, pp. xvi and 113-121). The survey shows the extent of its tenements, both demesne and free; the free tenements in particular are numerous and scattered (Parliamentary Survey, pt. I, pp. 114-116).

[170] It would seem more than coincidental that to Rialton were attached many far-flung free tenements as well as a court and the balliwick of Pyder. Various postmortem inquisitions show tenants holding various lands 'of the prior of Bodmin as of the manor of Rialton' (Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, vols. XVI, no. 1084; XVII, no. 449; XIX, no. 217; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Second Series, vols. I, no. 580; II, no. 680; III, nos. 365, 366, and 857). Mostly these tenements are those identified as the free tenements attached to Rialton in the 1650 survey; at least one, however, is not usually attached to Rialton and does not appear in the survey (Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Second Series, vol. I, no. 580: Nancecuke).

[171] Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, held a diocesan synod at Bodmin in 1171 (Oliver 1854, p. 5). In The Cartulary of Launceston Priory priors and former priors appear as witnesses (nos. 8, 81, 244, 333, 382, 383, and 417); by papal mandate the prior was responsible for the enforcement of a settlement to be reached between a local church and Launceston priory (no. 92); "the archdeacon's official's commissary was held at Bodmin c. 1202" (p. xxxvi and no. 300); an inquisition concerning various churches was held by Earl Richard at Bodmin (no. 499); a judgement was made by the bishop of Exeter at Bodmin (no. 503); a dispute was settled at Bodmin and a clerk of Exeter sent there to record this (no. 387); the prior of Bodmin was among several priors delegated in 1225 to Pope Honorious for the settlement of a dispute (no. 533). According to the Cartulary of St. Michael's Mount Alan III, count of Brittany (and briefly earl of Cornwall; see The Cartulary of Launceston Priory, p. xviii, n. 100) made a grant to St Michael's Mount in 1140 at Bodmin; a grant of rent to St Michael's Mount was made again at Bodmin in 1187--this was probably during the Cornish eyre, for the grant was made "in curia

Dedications to St Petroc in Cornwall

The visible effects of St Petroc's reputation in modern Cornwall are striking: St Petroc is, at present, the patron saint of more Cornish churches than any other Cornish saint.[172] St Petroc is currently the patron saint of five parish churches in Cornwall,[173] some of which can be traced to Bodmin priory's medieval estates. Of these sites, Padstow, Bodmin, and Little Petherick appear in the Lives of the saint.[174] Two others, Trevalga and Egloshayle, are less obviously connected to St Petroc. The history of Egloshayle ('the church on the estuary')[175] is complex: Boia, who seems to have been a priest of Bodmin, held the manor of Pendavey at Domesday; this may have been a recent acquisition.[176] Pendavey also appears among Bodmin's *temporalia* in the thirteenth-century *taxatio* of Pope Nicholas,[177] at the mid-fourteenth-century inquisition at Lostwithiel,[178] and in the dissolution records.[179]

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domini regis apud Bodmeniam coram ... iusticiis domini regis;" a grant of a mill to St Michael's Mount of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century was also made at Bodmin; a dispute between St Michael's Mount and a church over tithes was adjudicated in the parish church at Bodmin in 1252; finally a quitclaim of land, homage, and service was made to St Michael's Mount at Bodmin in 1295 (The Cartulary of St. Michael's Mount, nos. 5, 38, 61, 84, and 90).

[172] See Map 4.

[173] Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165.

[174] The church of Little Petherick (St Petroc Minor, Nansfenton) in the manor of Pawton was dedicated to St Petroc at least by the sixteenth century (Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 103) and probably earlier (see Chapter II, note 19, for the evidence of the *Vitae*).

[175] Padel 1976-77, p. 21.

[176] Above, page 182.

[177] The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, p. 479.

[178] The Register of John de Grandisson, vol. II, p. 1077; Oliver 1846, p. 15; see above, page 202.

[179] Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. II, p. 400; Oliver 1846, pp. 20-21; Gilbert 1838, vol. IV, p. 345.

Pendavey would seem to have been an important part of the priory's administrative structures: according to Picken the manor "had been a collecting point for scattered rents in north Cornwall" until the dissolution.[180] Bodmin had a chapel of St Nicholas at Pendavey according to the late-fourteenth-century Stafford episcopal register although Maclean has argued that the priory only gained possession of the chapel after 1462.[181]

Pendavey, manor and chapel, is located in what is now the parish of Egloshayle. Yet the fortunes of the church of Egloshayle seem to have been, for most of the Middle Ages, separate from the chapel at Pendavey. Egloshayle parish seems to have been held consistently by the bishop of Exeter, perhaps as part of the Domesday episcopal manor, Burniere.[182] The name of Egloshayle gives no hint of the church's patron saint, and its dedication was not recorded until the sixteenth century.[183] According to the *Computus Ministrorum*, however, the parish paid a small sum to Bodmin priory.[184] This pension, which formed the subject of an ugly dispute in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, is perhaps that concerned in a grant noted in Bishop Booth's register. The grant, dated October 7, 1474, involved a pension paid to Bodmin priory from Pendavey (probably from the chapel) in Egloshayle

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[180] Picken 1990, p. 272.

[181] Oliver 1846, p. 17; The Register of Edmund Stafford, p. 92; Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 448.

[182] Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 409. The bishop held one fee at Egloshayle according to aids of 1303, 1306 ("de rege in capite"), 1346, 1428 (Inquisitions and Assessments, vol. I, pp. 199, 205, 214, and 231).

[183] A will of 1562 describes the church as dedicated to St Petroc (Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160). The rather extravagant modern east window of the present church (installed in 1932) includes two figures of St Petroc and an angel holding Petroc's bell (Colquitt-Craven nd, pp. 4-5). Names of Cornish parishes consisting not of personal names (whether of patron saints or not) but of topographical or descriptive elements are not unusual (Padel 1976-77, pp. 19-21).

[184] Oliver 1846, p. 21.

parish.[185] Other records suggest some earlier connection between Egloshayle church and Bodmin priory: a composition between Henry Marshall (1194 x 1206), a predecessor of Bishop Bronescombe of Exeter, and the prior of Bodmin concerning *Eglosseile* is mentioned in Bronescombe's register.[186] Otherwise the church seems to have been firmly connected to the bishopric.[187]

It is possible that the rights of Bodmin priory over the chapel represented some previous right over a larger area; certainly Egloshayle parish is in an area dominated by St Petroc at least until the Domesday survey. These rights over part of the parish may have inspired the dedication of the parish church to St Petroc; alternatively, the parish church at Egloshayle may have been dedicated to St Petroc from its origin.

The church of Trevalga was dedicated to St Petroc at least by 1398.[188] Aside from its proximity to Tintagel there is no obvious reason for the dedication of this church. In 1086 the manor of Trevalga was held by William I; before this, the Domesday Survey records, Queen Matilda had five Cornish manors which had been held by Brictric (sometimes known

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[185] Oliver 1846, p. 16; Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 130. According to the Register of Edmund Stafford (pp. 69-70), the vicar of Egloshayle complained to the bishop "of risk even of bodily injury."

[186] The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, p. 291.

[187] The church was appropriated first to the canons of Crediton and later to the sub-deanery of Exeter (Henderson 1925, p. 87 and Colquitt-Craven nd, pp. 2-3). See The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, pp. 60-62 and 72 and The Register of John de Grandisson, vol. 3, p. 1492.

[188] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160; The Register of Edmund Stafford, p. 215. The Basset and Dinan families held fees at Trevalga in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Inquisitions and Assessments, vol. I, pp. 209 and 221).

as Brictric son of Algar).[189] As Brictric had held land in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, and Worcestershire, Sawyer plausibly suggests that "most of the manors held in turn by Brihtric and Matilda had belonged to one pre-conquest estate," an estate which would have included Brictric's "great manor" of Tewkesbury.[190] William II then granted Matilda's five Cornish manors to Robert fitz Hamon, in addition to extensive estates in Gloucestershire which had a similar history.[191] Robert's estates passed via his daughter to her husband, Robert, the first earl of Gloucester (and illegitimate son of Henry I), and in the first half of the twelfth century Earl Robert granted several Cornish churches from these estates to his cleric Picard.[192] Picard then granted the churches to the priory of St James at Bristol (a dependent house of Tewkesbury abbey), keeping a nominal rent for himself; the lands attached to the churches were granted to Robert of Ilchester.[193] One of the churches granted by Picard to Tewkesbury was that of Trevalga; in turn this church was granted by Robert, abbot of Tewkesbury, to the see of Exeter in 1242.[194] Two other Domesday manors

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[189] Domesday Book: Cornwall, 1,13-19; see above, note 24, for Brictric. There has been some speculation concerning why Brictric's lands went to the Queen; see Ellis 1833, vol. II, pp. 54-56 n. 3.

[190] Sawyer 1985, p. 73.

[191] DNB, vol. 7, p. 160.

[192] Earldom of Gloucester Charters, p. 173 (no. 249).

[193] Earldom of Gloucester Charters, pp. 10 and 170 (nos. 202 and 203; see Dugdale 1655-73, vol. ii, p. 69 for the charter). Robert fitz Hamon had also been a generous patron of Tewkesbury abbey (DNB, vol. 7, p. 161). Robert of Ilchester was the son of Robert earl of Gloucester (letter received from Oliver Padel, January 20, 1996, citing Picken, forthcoming).

[194] Maclean 1873-79, vol. III, p. 284. Another of these churches has often been mis-identified as the Egloshayle dedicated to St Petroc (Maclean 1873-79, vol. I, p. 409; Earldom of Gloucester Charters, pp. 10 and 170; Colquitt-Craven nd, p. 2). The Egloshayle of the grant, however, is probably the parish church of Phillack, dedicated to St Felec and known in the Middle Ages as *Egloshayle* in Cornish or *Sancte Felicitas* in Latin (Padel seems to be of the same opinion; in his entry under Phillack in A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names he quotes the form

of Brictric were also associated at some time with St Petroc. One, Coswarth, was said to have been usurped from St Petroc in Domesday;[195] another, Carworgie, paid a sum to the saint by custom.[196] Yet this seeming coincidence perhaps shows nothing more than the predominant position of the Church of St Petroc over other landholders at Domesday.

Dedications to St Petroc in Devonshire

St Petroc was and is also prominent in the neighbouring county, Devonshire.[197] Several dedications to St Petroc in Devonshire predate Domesday. The manor of Newton St Petroc (itself appearing in the Lives of St Petroc)[198] was supposedly granted to St Petroc by King Eadred in the tenth century.[199] The grant is recorded in two charters, one obviously spurious (and attributed to Athelstan),[200] another less extravagantly so. The less suspicious

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Egglosheil c. 1170 which is probably that of the Gloucester grant; 1988a, p. 138; see also Henderson 1955-60, p. 405). In Earl Robert's grant, several dependent chapels are included along with their parish churches, a relationship not indicated by their location on the list. St Felec of Phillack, *Egloshayle*, belonged to the manor of Connerton, which is also granted in the Gloucester charter. Indeed, most of the churches concerned are located in the extreme west of the peninsula. Patterson (Earldom of Gloucester Charters, pp. 10 and 170) mistakenly reads *Eglosbrec* as St Breock instead of Breage.

[195] Domesday Book: Cornwall, 1,15 and 4,22 (see above, page 182).

[196] Domesday Book: Cornwall, 1,18.

[197] See Map 5.

[198] There is only one episode in both versions of the Life which takes place outside of Cornwall (and Wales). This occurs in what is now Newton St Petrock in North Devon near the Cornish border. Here, according to the Lives, Petroc attempted to performed the failed miracle which necessitated his second pilgrimage to Rome (ch. 8 in the Saint-Méen Life; ch. 7 in the Gotha Life). Both the Saint-Méen and Gotha Lives, in their existing manuscripts, mis-copy geographical information concerning this site ("Vies," pp. 478 and 492).

[199] Hooke 1994, pp. 114-15.

[200] Among other problems, the charter is dated 670 for 925 x 939 (Hooke 1994, p. 144 and Chaplais 1966, p. 12).

charter is only known from an *inspeximus* of Henry III,[201] and according to Chaplais the wording of this *inspeximus* casts doubt on the authenticity of the original charter.[202] Nevertheless, by the time of Domesday St Petroc (here as the 'priests of Bodmin') was recorded as holding two manors, Newton St Petroc and Hollacombe, both in the northwest corner of Devon.[203] St Petroc is said to have held the latter in 1066, although there is no eviden... ...oncerning the manner of its possession;[204] the former, it would seem, was also held by the saint some time before the survey. Unlike the saint's Cornish Domesday manors, these Devon Domesday manors were liable for tax. Episcopal registers show the prior and convent to have had the patronage of the churches of Newton St Petroc and Hollacombe,[205] and the priory retained the manors themselves until the dissolution.[206] St Petroc is currently the patron saint of these parish churches.[207]

Another manor appearing in Devon Domesday must be connected to St Petroc, but

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[201] Oliver 1846, p. 411: Calendar of the Charter Rolls, vol. I, p. 380 (March 15, 1252 at Westminster).

[202] Chaplais 1966, p. 12.

[203] Domesday Book: Devon, 51,16 and 51,15.

[204] The Thorns cite the *Book of Fees*, which states for the mid-thirteenth century: "Prior de Bonne (n. Bodmin) tenet Slecumbe (n. Hollacombe) in puram ct perpetuam elemosinam ex dono cuiusdam regis antiqui, set nescitur de nomine ipsius regis;" the editors tentatively suggest Athelstan as the granting king (Domesday Book: Devon, vol. II, note on 51,15; Liber Feodarum, p. 1264).

[205] For example, among the account of various possessions of the priory appearing in Bytton's 'brief register' are pensions from the two churches (The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, pp. 402); later registers show a similar trend.

[206] Oliver 1846, pp. 20-21; Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. II, p. 400. See also Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. Second Series, vol. I, nos. 685 and 688, and vol. II, no. 422 for lands held at Newton St Petroc of the prior of Bodmin in the late fifteenth century.

[207] Oliver 1846, pp. 449, 451.

perhaps not to Bodmin priory. The manor of Petrockstow, named after St Petroc (who is also currently the patron saint of its parish church),[208] belonged to the abbey of Buckfast in 1066 and 1086.[209] A Benedictine abbey from its foundation (possibly by Cnut),[210] Buckfast was granted by King Stephen to Savigny in 1136[211] and was transformed at that time into a Cistercian abbey. Petrockstow would seem to have been usurped from Buckfast some time after Domesday, for a charter of Robert, bishop of Exeter, restored the manors of Petrockstow and Ash (in Petrockstow)[212] to Buckfast (and thus to Savigny).[213] Buckfast Abbey has a legendary, albeit dubious, association with St Petroc,[214] and another Devon church currently dedicated to St Petroc,[215] South Brent, is listed as a possession of Buckfast in Domesday.[216] According to the earliest extant episcopal register Buckfast Abbey possessed

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[208] Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160; Oliver 1846, p. 452.

[209] Domesday Book: Devon 6,1 and Exon. notes.

[210] Knowles and Hadcock 1971, pp. 52 and 61; Finberg 1960, no. 52a; Stéphan 1970, p. 15. Both Dugdale (1655-73, vol. v, p. 384) and Oliver (1846, p. 371) state that Buckfast was founded in 1137 by 'Ethelwerd son of William Pomerey'. Stéphan has traced this misconception to John Leland (1970, p. 8).

[211] Knowles and Hadcock 1971, p. 116; Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, vol. III, no. 800, where Stephen grants Buckfast and all its lands and possessions to Savigny.

[212] Domesday Book: Devon, vol. II, note on 6,1. See also Stéphan 1970, p. 17.

[213] Calendar of Documents Preserved in France. Vol. I: A.D. 918-1206, no 816. By the time of Edward I the hundred jury admitted that the name of the donor of Petrockstow to Buckfast was unknown (Rotuli Hundredorum, vol. I, pp. 78 and 94).

[214] Tilbrook 1970, p. [2]; Hamilton nd, pp. 9-10. Stéphan rightly dismisses Baring-Gould's suggestion that Petroc founded Buckfast, but notes that the modern abbey church includes a stained-glass representation of St Petroc (apparently modern) in the south transept (1970, p. 7).

[215] Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160; Oliver 1846, p. 446.

[216] Domesday Book: Devon, 6,11 and 6,12.

the advowson of the churches of both South Brent and Petrockstow;[217] dissolution records show both *temporalia* and *spiritualia* of the abbey in these parishes.[218]

The dedications associated with Buckfast do not seem to be connected to an extension of possessions of Bodmin priory into Devon, as seems the case with Newton St Petroc and Hollacombe, although Petrockstow is in the same general area as these.[219] Perhaps Petrockstow, the name of which suggests a pre-Norman cult of St Petroc, brought this cult to Buckfast. Even if the origin of Petrockstow is somewhat unclear,[220] some perceived connection between St Petroc and Buckfast Abbey could well explain the otherwise obscure dedication of the church of South Brent (in the extreme southeast of Devon, near Plymouth) to St Petroc.[221]

Hollacombe, Newton St Petroc, and Petrockstow were undoubtedly associated with St Petroc by the time of the theft of Petroc's relics in 1177. In addition to these three churches,

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[217] The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, pp. 162 (Petrockstow by 1270) and 119 (South Brent by 1268-9).

[218] Oliver 1846, pp. 374-5 (*Computus Ministrorum*) and 375-8 (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*).

[219] If indeed the abbey was newly founded by Cnut, it is remotely possible that Petrockstow had been a possession of the church of St Petroc, possessed and lost well before Domesday and even the Conquest.

[220] Margaret Gelling, however, argues that the form of the name, the name of a saint with *stōw*, to indicate 'church of some saint' probably postdates the ninth century (Gelling 1982, p. 191). There may also be a Glastonbury connection: 'land beside the river Torridge,' which may be at Petrockstow, was granted to Glastonbury Abbey by Ecgberht of Wessex in the ninth century (Hooke 1994, p. 100). Pearce suggests that this may have been, already in the ninth century, an existing estate with a burial-ground (1985, p. 273); if this is so, perhaps St Petroc's cult should be viewed as established in north Devon earlier than the other evidence would seem to suggest.

[221] It seems possible that South Brent was granted to Buckfast by King Eadwig or Edgar (or both) in the tenth century (Finberg 1960, no. 35a and 36a).

four others, South Brent, Cotleigh,[222] Lydford,[223] and a parish church in Exeter,[224] were probably dedicated to St Petroc in the medieval period. One of these dedications, that of the parish church in the Cathedral Close in Exeter, quite possibly predated the theft of the relics in the twelfth century. However, the extent of St Petroc's cult in medieval Devon may have been greater than the surviving records indicate: by the modern period dedications to St Petroc were recorded in fifteen parish churches in Devon (Hollacombe, Newton St Petroc, Petrockstow, South Brent, Lydford, Exeter, Dartmouth, Clannaborough, Farringdon, Harford, Inwardleigh, Kenton, Parracombe, West Anstey, and Westleigh).[225] The evidence for the

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[222] Charles Henderson discovered that St Petroc was the original patron saint of Cotleigh according to a deed of 1292 (Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160; Truro, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Henderson MSS., 'Essays', pt. iv, p. 9). In the later twelfth century Cotleigh manor came to Olivier of Dinham through the Cardinham line (see Chapter V, note 169) and at least one Dinham, Sir John, was recorded as having the patronage of the church in the fourteenth century (Reichel 1928-38, p. 360). Now, however, the church is said to be dedicated to St Michael (Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160).

[223] The dedication of Lydford is documented from 1237 (Truro, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Henderson MSS., 'Essays', pt. iv, p. 9 and letter dated April 5, 1927, from J.F. Chanter to Charles Henderson in the same collection). It first appears as dedicated to St Petroc in Patent Rolls of Henry III (Calendar of the Patent Rolls. Henry III, Vol. III, p. 187) and is still currently dedicated to St Petroc (Oliver 1846, p. 450).

[224] The earliest record of this church seems to be the grant by Peter de Palerna which lists twenty-eight 'chapels' from the reign of King John (see below, note 225); this dedication is also currently unchanged (Oliver 1846, p. 448).

[225] The dedications are listed by Doble (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160) and Orme (Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165). Cotleigh is omitted from this list as its dedication may have already changed by this period (above, note 222). A parish church at Dartmouth, formerly a chapel (below, note 233), has been added. Doble added a chapel in Exeter Cathedral, but was probably misled by the use of 'capella' to describe parish churches in the city of Exeter in the records of the *taxatio* of 1291 (The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, p. 451); the editor notes a similar use of the term in a charter of the reign of King John now in the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter; the twenty-eight 'chapels' (the editor's own quotation marks) include that of St Petroc (The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, pp. 451-52, n. 1). The church is also listed as a chapel in the *taxatio* of Pope Nicholas (Taxatio, p. 143). There is no other evidence for this 'chapel' and it seems certain that the parish church of St Petroc in the Cathedral Close of Exeter is intended.

date of the dedications of these churches to St Petroc is extremely varied: six churches are securely documented during the Middle Ages, a the seventh (South Brent) is plausibly added to this group. Four dedications are undocumented until the early modern period.[226] The date of the dedication of the remaining churches remains unknown. For some churches, the very status of St Petroc as patron saint rests on slightly (Farringdon and Harford)[227] or very (Inwardleigh,[228] Kenton,[229] and Parracombe)[230] dubious authority.[231]

Two, perhaps three chapels in Devon were dedicated to St Petroc. The oldest, at Dartmouth, is first mentioned in Bishop Grandisson's register in 1332, where it was described as "ab antiquo, ut dicitur, erecta."[232] This chapel was presumably erected into a parish church, for currently Dartmouth is composed of three parishes, the smallest of which is

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[226] Clannaborough, West Anstey (these two dedicated to St Petroc according the dissolution documents; Liber Regis, pp. 254 and 286), and Westleigh (Oliver, in his Supplement to the Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis, corrected the dedication of this last church from St Peter to St Petroc; 1846, p. 45 and 1854, p. 38). The parish church of St Petrox at Dartmouth (in the Middle Ages a chapel) was dedicated in 1833 (Oliver 1846, p. 447).

[227] Oliver 1846, p. 448.

[228] Oliver 1846, p. 449; Doble 1960-70, p. 4, p. 160.

[229] Oliver 1840-42, vol. I, p. 13; Stabb 1909, vol. I, pp. 86-87; Oliver 1846, p. 449.

[230] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160; Oliver 1846, p. 452. However, in 1985 Pearce was confident in this dedication (1985, p. 263).

[231] L.V. Grinsell adds three churches to the list of dedications to St Petroc in Devon, all along the north coast east of Barnstaple Bay: these are Berrynarbor, Combe Martin, and Trentishoe. Grinsell views the dedications of Berrynarbor and Combe Martin as "'modernised'" to St Peter from St Petroc, but does not give any reason for his attribution of an original dedication to St Petroc to the church of Trentishoe (1970, pp. 109 and 210). The location of these, on the coast of north-west Devon, is strikingly similar to the cluster of early dedications in the area of Hartland (just to the west), but the dedication of the churches to St Petroc cannot be definitely established.

[232] The Register of John de Grandisson, vol. II, p. 653.

Dartmouth St Petrox.[233] A second chapel dedicated to St Petroc, at Charles, was first documented in 1424.[234] A third chapel, which is probably dedicated to St Petroc, is located at Petton in Bampton parish.[235] There are also two wells commemorating St Petroc in Devon; one of these may provide a context for the dedication of this latter chapel. In the early thirteenth century Torre abbey, founded in 1196 by William Briwere, received a grant from William the Younger of "totam terram que emergit de fonte S. Petroci juxta coquinam in terra de Torre."[236] Also in the early thirteenth century the abbot of Torre was described as holding one fee of William Briwere, part of which was Petton.[237] In the mid-fourteenth century *Peatton* was held of the abbot of Torre.[238] The apparent cult of St Petroc at Torre abbey may provide a context for the dedication of the chapel to St Petroc at Petton. Another well of St Petroc, at Dunkeswell,[239] is perhaps indirectly connected to this abbey or family, for Dunkeswell abbey was also founded by William Briwere.[240]

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[233] Peskett 1979, p. 116. This presumably is that church called 'Dartmouth, new church' by Oliver, dedicated to St Petroc in 1833 (1846, p. 447).

[234] The Register of Edmund Lacy, vol. I, p. 102.

[235] Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p.165; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160; Oliver 1846, p. 445.

[236] Knowles and Hadcock 1971, pp. 185 and 192. Oliver 1846, p. 179; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 165; Seymour 1977, p. 85. Seymour placed the well at the parish church of TorMohun, St Savior's (Seymour 1977, p. 87); Doble thought that this church had been dedicated to St Petroc (Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160), but there is no evidence for this.

[237] Domesday Book: Devon, vol. II, note on 15, 57; Liber Feodarum, p. 396.

[238] Domesday Book: Devon, vol. II, note on 15, 57; Inquisitions and Assessments, vol. I, p. 431.

[239] Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 160.

[240] Oliver 1846, p. 393. There seems to be a later connection between the Briwere family and the Dinans of Devonshire: according to R. Pearse Chope lands of the Devonshire branch of the Dinan (or Dinham) family came into the custody of William Briwere after 1221 because of the minority of the Dinan heir (Chope 1940, p. 28). It is, of course, not surprising to find such

Thus ends the list of medieval and modern dedications to St Petroc in Devon. For the probable medieval dedications, some distinct clusters are visible. The north-west portion near Hartland Point contains the three sites most directly connected to the saint or Bodmin priory: Newton St Petrock, Hollacombe, and Petrockstow. Dartmouth, the Dart River, and Dartmoor show a second main cluster, consisting of the medieval sites of Dartmouth (then a chapel), South Brent, and Lydford, as well as a possibly later dedication at Clannaborough and suspect dedications at Harford and Inwardleigh. The same area also contains Torre Abbey (at Torquay), where there was a medieval well. The Exeter region contains the medieval parish church in Exeter, as well as the suspect dedications at Kenton and Farringdon. To the east are medieval sites at Dunkeswell and Cotleigh, and the possible dedication at Petton; north of these is the medieval chapel at Charles, the possibly modern dedications at West Anstey and Westleigh, and a suspect dedication at Parracombe. No one pattern is visible, although churches near the coasts seem to predominate. This coastal predominance is repeated for the sole church in Somerset currently dedicated to St Petroc, Timberscombe, which lies near the north coast and Devon border.[241]

This is not to suggest that the saint visited these sites, or even that some geographical assessment can explain these dedications. Yet it is striking that the three dedications to St Petroc which are indisputably significant for the period in question are in the same area, across the Cornish-Devon border in the north. In addition, those dedications around Dartmoor may well have existed during the twelfth century: the account, in the *Miracula*, of a miracle

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connections between the nobility of a given county; also significant perhaps is William Briwere's position as bishop of Exeter from 1223-1244 (Orme 1991, p. 200).

[241] Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165; Grinsell 1970, p. 210.

occurring at Dartmoor, may indicate a concentration of cult in the area at this time.[242] Although Exeter must always be considered significant, clearly the western part of Devonshire dominates the map of securely documented medieval sites of St Petroc's cult.

The Cult of St Petroc and England

The evidence for the medieval cult of St Petroc outside of Devon and Cornwall is found only in the appearance of the saint's relics in inventories and by various liturgical notices.[243] This 'English' cult shows none of the attributes of St Petroc's cult in Cornwall, Devon, or Wales: there are no dedications of churches, no place-names formed with Petroc, no chapels, and no wells. If such attributes existed in England (which seems unlikely) they have left no record: the cult in England is exclusively liturgical. Even the acquisition of relics seems connected more to political factors than to an expression of cultic practice.

One striking aspect of the early medieval English calendars which list the feast of St Petroc is the assignment, in two calendars, of this feast to a date, May 23, which is apparently unconnected with any possible aspect of the saint's history. An eleventh-century psalter (Oxford Bodleian Lib. Douce MS. 296) from Croyland in Lincolnshire preserves this feast.[244] Gasquet and Bishop have argued that another calendar showing this date, London, BL Cotton MS. Nero A.ii, ff. 3-8b (dated by Wormald in the eleventh century at Wessex)

[242] See Chapter II, page 56.

[243] See Appendix II and Map 7.

[244] Appendix II, no. 12. Doble states erroneously that the May 23 feast is also to be found in the Bosworth Psalter (1960-70, pt. 4, p. 166), but was probably confused by Gasquet and Bishops's discussion of the BL Cotton Nero manuscript in their book concerning the Bosworth Psalter (see below, note 245).

"may preserve the original (Cornish) day" in view of its "probable local origin."[245] The preservation, in this manuscript, of St Petroc's original Cornish feast, however, is unlikely, not merely in light of the calendar's probable Winchester provenance,[246] but also as the June 4 feast is the sole date attested at the major cult centres in Cornwall and is firmly entrenched elsewhere. Although Grosjean has indicated another anomalous feast date, May 27, in a fourteenth-century addition to a calendar representing the usage of St. Paul's in London,[247] elsewhere the liturgical evidence consistently cites the June 4 feast.[248]

Outside Cornwall,[249] three main centres of the diffusion of the liturgical cult of St Petroc emerge: significantly, perhaps, all three claimed relics of the saint at some time. Exeter is clearly the obvious centre for such diffusion, and its record of relics consistently includes those of St Petroc.[250] However, the liturgical calendar appended to the Leofric missal, copied from the same original as the Bosworth Psalter, and written at Glastonbury by the end

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[245] Gasquet and Bishop 1908, p. 167; Appendix II, no. 16.

[246] Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book, pp. xiv-xv.

[247] Appendix II, no. 30.

[248] It is intriguing in this context to note that the Sarum feast of relics at Exeter was first fixed on May 22 and was later celebrated on the Monday after Ascension (Thomas 1974, pp. 103 and 127; Ordinale Exon, vol. I, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii, 164-65, 329 and vol. IV, p. 12).

[249] There are few early Cornish liturgical manuscripts extant. One, the *Lanalet Pontifical* (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 368 (A.27)), supposedly written in the southwest in the early eleventh century and used at St German's, Cornwall, is curious: no local Cornish saints appear in its three litanies (A-glo-Saxon Litanies, p. 83); moreover St Petroc does not appear in the Benedictions provided [illegible] the various feasts of saints (Pontificale Lanaletense, pp. xviii-xix). Later Cornish calendars [illegible] in the June 4 feast of St Petroc (see Appendix II, nos. 17 and 20, and perhaps also nos.

[250] Appendix II, nos [illegible]8-19, and no. 34 (relics).

of the tenth century, does not include St Petroc.[251] Yet St Petroc's name appears in the relic list incorporated into this "exceedingly complex"[252] codex. Other early calendars containing the feast of St Petroc may be connected with Exeter.[253]

Glastonbury Abbey is another likely centre for the diffusion of this cult, for in the later Middle Ages, at least, this abbey also claimed relics of St Petroc.[254] Glastonbury, perhaps significantly, seems to have provided Exeter with the above-mentioned calendar appended to the Leofric Missal; other calendars may have also originated there.[255] Yet this influence clearly worked in both directions: a fourteenth-century list of relics kept at Glastonbury unusually attributes a portion of these to a donation by Athelstan and does so in language which echoes very closely that of an Exeter relic list.[256]

Winchester is clearly a significant centre: its claim to possess relics of St Petroc is striking in light of Winchester's association with Athelstan's relic-collecting and its key position as a centre for the diffusion of Breton cults.[257] Moreover, as Christopher Hohler

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[251] Wormald 1934, pp. 43-55: Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 579, ff. 39-44v. The Missal itself (of Continental provenance) does not include St Petroc in the Proprium de sanctis (The Leofric Missal, pp. xxvi and 131-169). See also The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey, p. xlv.

[252] Conner 1993, p. 188.

[253] Appendix II, nos. 27-29.

[254] Appendix II, no. 35.

[255] Appendix II, nos. 1, 14, 21, and perhaps 24.

[256] Thomas 1974, p. 186, n. 1. Thomas also points out that Athelstan "nowhere else appears as a donor of relics to Glastonbury" (1974, p. 186); he notes the claim of Hyde Abbey at Winchester in the eleventh century to possess relics formerly belonging to Athelstan (a claim in which he has "little faith") and, later, a connection between the relics of Celtic saints claimed by the abbey and those held by Glastonbury (1974, pp. 192, 195).

[257] Appendix II, no. 37; see Chapter III, pages 159 and 157.

has argued, Winchester occupied a position of primary importance as a centre for Latin learning in England for much of the Middle Ages.[258] Many of the liturgical commemorations of St Petroc throughout England may have originated at Winchester;[259] perhaps this is also the inspiration for the tale in the *Miracula* of a woman cured by St Petroc at Bodmin after an unsuccessful attempt at Winchester.[260] The appearance (even the marginal appearance) of the feast of St Petroc at Winchester may have inspired the inclusion of this feast in the calendars of other churches which did not themselves claim to possess his relics: these are Wells, Worcester, Bury St Edmunds, Croyland, and Malmesbury.[261]

Salisbury superseded the diocese of Sherborne (which had earlier included Cornwall);[262] thus it is another potential site for the diffusion of St Petroc's liturgical cult. The house claimed relics of St Petroc among those borne in procession, at least in the fifteenth century.[263] No calendar attributed specifically to the cathedral of Salisbury includes St Petroc's feast,[264] but the liturgical 'Use of Sarum' shows a spread of Salisbury influence,

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[258] Hohler 1975, p. 73.

[259] Appendix II, nos. 6-8, 13, 15-16, perhaps 24, and 25.

[260] See Chapter II, page 55.

[261] See Appendix II, no. 5 for Wells (other Wells calendars may show Sarum influence; see Appendix II, nos. 22 and 23); Appendix II, nos. 9-10 for Worcester; Appendix II, no. 11 for Bury St Edmunds; Appendix II, no. 12 for Croyland (see also above, page 228, for the feast day); Appendix II, no. 26 for Malmesbury.

[262] Salisbury was the new seat of the united sees of Sherborne and Ramsbury from the late eleventh century (Webber 1992, pp. 1-2; Thomas 1974, p. 124; Brooke 1967, pp. 53-55).

[263] Appendix II, no. 36. Brooke noted the pressure on the Norman bishoprics to acknowledge their links with their antecedents; thus bishops of Salisbury also called themselves bishops of Sherborne. Brooke also cites the use of relics in the retention of continuity (1967, p. 51).

[264] Neither the calendar proper nor the obit calendar of the Sarum Processional which contained the relic list include the feast of St Petroc (Ceremonies and Processions, pp. 8 and 236).

even to distant York,[265] although St Petroc's presence in Sarum calendars was clearly circumscribed.[266] Moreover, the date of the arrival of a reputed relic of St Petroc at Salisbury is obscure, and the importance of this cult at Salisbury seems minimal.

In addition to the appearance of relics at the three key sites of Exeter, Glastonbury, and Winchester (and perhaps Salisbury), St Petroc appears in the relic lists of four other abbeys; for many of these claims the theft of St Petroc's relics in 1177 provides a plausible context. A relic list in one of the cartularies of Reading Abbey, composed between the 1120s and 1190s,[267] contains relics of several Cornish saints, many of which seem to have come via Leominster in Herefordshire (as they are mentioned in a Leominster relic list).[268] However, appearing in the Reading list but not in the Leominster list is St Petroc ("'some of St Petroc and some of the cloth in which his body was wound'").[269] Denis Bethell suggests that this relic came to Reading when the body of St Petroc was brought to court in the twelfth century, either to Henry I (as described in to the *Miracula Sancti Petroci*) or to Henry II.[270] The relics described, however, look suspiciously like those described at Exeter and

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[265] See especially Appendix II, nos. 23, 27-29, 31, and 33. Yet Thomas also points out that two medieval bishops of Exeter, Henry Marshall (1194-1206) and Simon of Apulia (1214-23) had been deans of York (Thomas 1974, p. 101).

[266] Appendix II, no. 23. Unlike the index of saints included with the 1531 Sarum Breviary (which locates St Petroc's feast at York, Exeter, and Wells; Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, vol. III, "Index festivitatum sanctorum, etc.", xxxv), the index supplied with the fifteenth-century Sarum Processional edited by Wordsworth indicates only York as a site of the feast (Ceremonies and Processions, p. 357).

[267] Bethell 1972, p. 61.

[268] Bethell 1972, p. 65.

[269] Appendix II, no. 38.

[270] Bethell 1972, p. 66.

Glastonbury.[271] Waltham Abbey, transformed in 1177 from a college of secular canons into an Augustinian house by Henry II,[272] also claimed a bone of St Petroc.[273] The list of relics itself, however, shows some relation to relics claimed at Glastonbury and Winchester.[274] The relic of St Petroc is said to have been given to the abbey by Walter of Ghent during the tenure of prior Ralph (1177-1182 x 84); again, as with the relic at Reading, the suggested context is the 1177 theft.[275] The 1177 theft is also a possible context for the appearance of a relic of St Petroc at the abbey of Shrewsbury,[276] which is also near the Welsh border.[277] There is, however, no secure context in which to examine the claim of St Augustine's, Canterbury, to a relic of St 'Petrocius;'[278] this relic is extremely dubious. St Augustine's shows no connection with any cult of St Petroc, however indirect.

The main sites of the diffusion of the liturgical cult of St Petroc, significantly, claimed to possess relics of the saint. The combination of the presence of relics and a liturgical cult of St Petroc at Exeter is not at all surprising: at its foundation the see of Exeter adopted St Germanus and St Petroc as dual patrons of the superseded Cornish diocese.[279] Glastonbury,

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[271] Appendix II, no. 34 for Exeter relics and no. 35 for Glastonbury relics.

[272] The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, p. xxiv.

[273] Appendix II, no. 40.

[274] Thomas 1974, p. 260.

[275] Thomas 1974, pp. 263-4, 535, and 537. See Chapter V for the theft itself.

[276] Appendix II, no. 41; Thomas (1974, p. 229) notes the acquisition of a relic of St Thomas Becket by the house in the 1170s; this would seem to suggest the participation of the abbot in a sphere involving royal patronage at the time of the theft.

[277] Thomas 1974, p. 224.

[278] See Appendix II, no. 38.

[279] Chapter II, page 73.

Celtic connections,[280] also had minor Cornish connections both before and after the quest.[281] Moreover, the fourteenth-century Chronicle of John of Glastonbury orporated a visit to Padstow into its account of St Patrick.[282] Winchester seems paramount for the wider Englisn sphere. the cult of St Petroc here may be connected to the prominence of Breton saints and other saints patronised by Athelstan.[283] One might point to the presence of relics of St Petroc at Exeter, Glastonbury, Winchester, and possibly Salisbury as the cause of St Petroc's spreading fame beyond the southwest; one might, it seems, easily suggest that the reputated presence of the saint at Reading, Waltham, Shrewsbury, and St / ... now the result of this spread.

[illegible] Church of St Petroc in Devon and Cornwall in 1177

... the Middle Ages, the Priory of St Petroc at Bodmin was central to the ... landscape of Cornwall and both the priory and its borough, Bodmin, prominent in ... secular and political life of the county. By the time of the dissolution, as Charles Henderson has commented, "the priory was still the most important institution in Cornwall."[284] The cult of St Petroc was also not insignificant in Devon, partly because of the reputation of the saint himself but mostly because of the holdings and prestige of his priory.

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[280] See, for example, Olson 1989, p. 31.

[281] Padel 1991a, p 256.

[282] The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey, pp. 23-24.

[283] Gougaud describes Winchester as the centre of the tenth-century vogue of Breton saints (1923, pp. 26-7).

[284] Henderson 1935, p. 223.

At the time of the theft of the saint's relics, Bodmin priory certainly held the seven manors which could be described as 'demesne' in Domesday[285] and, as far as can be determined, their associated churches. Bodmin, the manor, parish church (and its chapels) and borough, Ellenglaze and its church of St Cubert, Fursnewth, Padstow, Rialton, Treknow, Withiel, as well as the manor of Pendavey were all under the dominion of the priory, as well as the Devonshire manors of Hollacombe and Newton St Petrock. In addition, the cult of St Petroc was probably present at Petrockstow before this time. The Dartmoor area was also quite possibly some focus of cult activity. Finally, the seat of the west country bishopric, Exeter, recognised the importance of the saint. This last condition was probably crucial to the involvement of both Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter in 1177, and King Henry II in the retrieval of St Petroc's relics.

However, the larger sphere of cult and patronage should not be neglected. St Petroc and his church seem to have attracted the notice of English (West Saxon) kings well before the time of Henry II; the involvement of Henry's immediate predecessors and successors in Bodmin's affairs is documented in several charters. The liturgical evidence shows that even in 1177 St Petroc was known beyond (and well beyond) the diocese of Exeter, possibly due to the presence (or reported presence) of relics at several key centres, Exeter, Glastonbury, and Winchester. St Petroc was well-known and powerful in Cornwall, not insignificant in Devon, and, it might be argues, more or less easily recognised in England. This, then, was the state of affairs when the account of the theft of St Petroc's relics, the *De furto reliquiarum*, was composed. The *De furto*'s explanation of the theft, that St Petroc, little known both in and beyond Cornwall, allowed the theft in order to extend his cult, clearly stands contradicted.

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[285] See above, note 23.

Chapter V: Henry II, Brittany, and St Petroc's Relics

Introduction

This chapter examines the background for some of the broader issues raised both by the theft of St Petroc's relics and by the account of these events preserved in the *De furto*. The first matter of investigation is the situation of the abbey of Saint-Méen, the Breton foundation at which the relics ultimately arrived. Saint-Méen's eminence and the continuity of its history both suggest a stable and thriving abbey. Yet it is possible, or even likely, that Saint-Méen did not possess the relics of the house's principal saints, Méen and Judicaël. Even more suggestive is an apparent connection between these relics and the Dinan family, through the abbey of Saint-Florent-de-Saumur. The connection, possibly inconsequential, between relics of St Méen, the abbey of Saint-Méen, and the Dinan family, considered along with the role of Roland de Dinan in the retrieval of St Petroc's relics, propel this investigation into the murky and intricate waters of Breton family history and politics. The fragmentary political character of Brittany has been invoked as a theme throughout the thesis; here, as one examines one small period and area closely, this diffusion becomes the more apparent, and the amount of background necessary to comprehend what occurs is staggering.

Yet the basic question is that asked by the author of the theft text: could the presence of St Petroc's relics in Brittany have affected the delicate balance of the uneasy alliance between Henry II, his son Geoffroy Plantagenet II, and Henry's justiciar Roland de Dinan? In

order to assess this possibility, it has been necessary to examine the relative positions of Henry II, Geoffroy, and, especially, Roland. Yet Roland must also be placed within a larger context, consisting not only of Angevin politics and administration, but also of Breton families whose interests lie on both sides of the Channel well into the thirteenth century and even later. These families, related by blood and marriage, form a significant force in both English and Breton affairs, and do so, in England, according to a discernable pattern. This pattern involves Cornwall only peripherally: the Cornish aspects of the Dinan holdings do not directly affect Roland, but are linked to members of his extended family. Yet the affairs of these extended Anglo-Breton families, as this investigation shows, clearly ranged throughout apparently distant branches. Moreover, Breton settlement and lordship was deeply significant to Devon, including the north-west portion of the county. The Dinan abbey of Hartland is located in north-west Devon; this area also shows, in this period, a significant cult of St Petroc.[1]

Thus this chapter is not chronologically ordered; rather it moves forward and backward in time. Its thematic arrangement introduces the broader pattern of Angevin and Anglo-Breton affairs, and moves back to the later twelfth century. This second portion of the chapter begins with Roland's first appearance in English political history (aside from his presence as a landholder in the Pipe Rolls), that is, with his participation in the Breton rebellion of 1167-8. His progression from rebellious baron to apparently reliable administrator under Henry II sets the stage for the examination of his actions in 1177. The theft text uniquely presents these actions as part of a larger scheme between Roland and Geoffroy not to only wrest Brittany from Henry's control but also to obtain Cornwall for Geoffroy; the two

[1] A possible connection between Hartland abbey and the Gotha manuscript, which contains a Life of Hartland's patron saint, St Nectan as well as St Petroc's dossier, remains to be explored.

chronicles of Henry's reign which mention the incident contain no such suggestion. Thus this chapter also examines in some detail Roland's relationship with Geoffroy, whom he apparently oversees in Brittany.

This chapter mainly concerns the theft itself, and not the eccentricities of the theft text. Therefore, the theft text's account of Henry, Roland, and Geoffroy will be discussed in a final chapter which will take into account the text's possible agendas. Other, less controversial, aspects of the *De furto* have been noted in Chapter I, and are briefly discussed here as part of the historical context. This includes Henry's relationship with the one other significant character in the events surrounding the theft, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter.

The theft text as a whole, with its apparently accurate and certainly plausible description of some lesser aspects and characters of theft, and the more eccentric combination of its themes and renderings of these events, is examined in Chapter VI. Yet it is important to recall that the *De furto* does seem to be a detailed and accurate account of minutiae of the events of 1177;[2] here it is cited as such.

The Breton Background: Saint-Méen and its History

A logical preface to the examination of the journey of the relics of St Petroc to Saint-Méen in Brittany is the examination of the status of Saint-Méen itself, especially its claim to possess relics of other saints, including those of its founder, his companions, and significant patrons.

As noted in Chapter III,[3] Hinguéten, the abbot of Saint-Jacut, was in the early

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[2] Chapter I.

[3] See Chapter III, page 169.

eleventh century entrusted with the task of refounding the abbey of Saint-Méen after the dispersal of Breton monasteries. After this restoration or refoundation the abbey was located in the town which now derives its name from the monastery, Saint-Méen-le-Grand. Although the exact site of the original foundation cannot be fixed with certainty (the earliest medieval documentation refers to Saint-Méen at nearby Gaël),[4] the prominence of the abbey of Saint-Méen is clear. Not the least of its attractions is its central location, in the middle of the peninsula (not unlike Bodmin) on the route between the Channel and the Atlantic.[5]

Perched on the edge of the vast, underpopulated, and heavily forested *pagus Poutrocoet* (Latin *pagus trans silvam*),[6] Saint-Méen in the immigration period probably

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[4] See Mémoires, vol. I, col. 358; Mémoires, vol. I, col. 570; Mémoires, vol. I, col 723; Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, no. CCXC, p. 239. The *Chronicon Britannicum*, the history of which is obscure (see below, page 244), dates the construction of Saint-Méen at an unspecified location to the year 600: "his diebus construxit S. Mevennus suum coenobium" (Lidou 1983, p. 115; Mémoires, vol. I, col. 3). Under 799 it cites a diploma of Louis the Pious granting rights and privileges to Saint-Méen (which we have from a *vidimus* of 1294; Mémoires, vol. I, col. 225; Smith 1992, p. 70, n. 44) and speaks of "Ecclesia de Guadel;" under 1024 it notes that "locus S. Mariæ & SS. Mevenni & Judicaelis in Guadelo" were brought under Hinguéten's authority (Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 3-4).

[5] Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, p. 136; Lidou 1983, p. 115, n. 5 (quoting J. Delumeau).

[6] *Poutrocoet* formed part of the early Breton political unit of Domnonée; accor[illegible] to Chédeville Poutrocoet was probably larger than other *pagi* and should perhaps be [illegible]dered "plutôt une vaste région qui avait échappé à la division primitive en *pagi*" (Ché[illegible]e and Guillotel 1984, p. 86). The secular administrative unit of Porhoët produced th[illegible]fth-century ducal rival Eudon II de Porhoët (see below, pages 278ff).

Guillotel (1979a, p. 251, n. 2 and 3) notes, but does not comment upon, an alternative designation for the bishop of Alet, *episcopus in Poutrocoet* or *in pago trans silvam*, found in the Cartulary of Redon (Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, nos. V, XXIV, XXXVII, LXXVIII, CXVI, and XXIV of the appendix). Chédeville argues that this alternative title seems to suggest that the region around Saint-Méen, Porhoët, had been raised to a bishopric during Carolingian reforms (Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, p. 136). Arthur de La Borderie offers a sensible explanation: the see of Alet, probably *civitas*-capital of *Coriosolitum* and probably a Gallo-Roman see (Tanguy 1984c, p. 95), extended over both Alet and Porhoët, "c'est-à-dire sur tout le diocèse comme il était constitué dès le VIIIe siècle" (La Borderie, 1905-14, vol. II, p. 270). By the later Middle Ages (and possibly earlier) the diocese of Saint-Malo included an archdeaconry of Porhoët, which comprised a portion of the older *pagus Poutrocoet* (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 261).

attracted not only monks but also settlers. Indeed, André Chédeville offers Saint-Méen as evidence of "l'implantation 'continentale' et pas seulement littorale des Bretons."[7] The abbey itself was an important component of the Breton ecclesiastical organisation;[8] by the early ninth century an abbot of Saint-Méen was also bishop of Alet.[9] Bernard Merdrignac describes the early eleventh-century restoration of Saint-Méen by Hinguéten as a "renaissance" and notes that this is illustrated "par une production hagiographique de qualité."[10] Unlike the original foundation, the restored abbey can be located with confidence at Saint-Méen-le-Grand.[11] This is certainly within the immediate area of any previous house,[12] and assuredly within the same district of Porhoët (as Poutrocoet came to be called); a continuity of association is clear within this larger area. During the twelfth century the eastern and marcher areas of Brittany became central to the various political struggles between Breton barons,

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[7] Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, p. 136.

[8] A notice of a council of Breton bishops at Redon which specifically mentions "antiqua ipsius Ecclesiæ privilegia" in connection with the presence of the presence of the abbot of Saint-Méen (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 570). Julia Smith notes that Louis the Pious's strategy to extend his authority over Brittany and Breton churches first concerned Saint-Méen; it was one of the "few major churches" so dealt with (1992, pp. 71-72).

[9] Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, p. 136. Elsewhere Guillotel carefully points out that this does *not* mean that this abbot-bishop "était à la tête d'un monastère-évêché" (1979a, p. 253). In the seventeenth century a bishop was again abbot of Saint-Méen, with unfortunate results: the abbot began a process of secularisation which ultimately resulted in bloodshed between the Maurist Bénédictines de la Société de Bretagne and the Lazaristes of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul (Guillotin de Corson 1880-86, vol. II, pp. 125-28; Le Claire 1926, p. 68).

[10] Merdrignac 1985-86, vol. I, p. 56. Merdrignac points to both Saint-Méen and Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys as new centres of hagiographical production in the post-Viking period (1985-86, vol. I, pp. 55-56).

[11] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 225.

[12] The original foundation is thought by some to have been located at Gaël, about seven kilometres south of Saint-Méen-le-Grand (see, for example, Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, p. 49; Smith 1992, p. 70; Guillotin de Corson 1880-86, vol. II, pp. 122-24).

Angevin kings, and Capetian kings; Saint-Méen must be considered within this context.

The Relics of St Méen

The Life of St Méen does not mention relics. Nor does it specify where exactly the saint died and was buried, although it gives the impression that this occurred where he was accustomed to spend his daily life (chs. 19 and 20).[13] However, the travels of the relics of St Méen (and of those of his royal patron St Judicaël) are of primary interest to the events of 1177 and the question of Saint-Méen's involvement in the theft of St Petroc's relics: a desire to gain, even by theft, the relics of another saint must be influenced by the security of a house's possession of the relics of its founder.

As previously noted, according to Guillotin de Corson, Saint-Méen possessed relics of Sts Méen, Judicaël, Austell, and Petroc in the late eighteenth century.[14] A seventeenth-century Maurist history of Saint-Méen states that in 1646 the abbey possessed relics of Sts Méen, Judicaël, Petroc, and Austell.[15] The liturgical provisions of the calendar of the sixteenth-century Obituary of Saint-Méen, however, mention relics for the feast of St Méen (June 21), but not for the feasts of Sts Judicaël (December 17), Austell (June 27), or

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[13] "Vita S. Mevenni," pp. 155-6; Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, pp. 40-41.

[14] See Chapter III, page 131. St Austell is the companion of St Méen in the hagiographical tradition of this saint, so much so that his cult only appears with that of St Méen (Olson and Padel 1986, p. 59). Doble notes these cults as "a particularly striking example of this phenomenon [recurring adjacency]," in which cults of several saints are found together in widely spaced regions (Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, p. 45, n. 22; see Chapter II, page 99). Even in the tenth-century list of Cornish parochial saints St Austell's name immediately precedes that of St Méen (possibly because St Austell in Cornwall is beside St Mewan).

[15] This is Paris, BN ms. lat. 12685. See Chapter III, note 144.

Petroc.[16] This calendar includes the feasts of the translations of both St Méen (January 18) and St Judicaël (August 12); again the liturgical directions for the translation of St Méen (but not that of Judicaël) mention relics.[17] A sacramentary which is considered by some as the earliest evidence of liturgical practice at Saint-Méen shows in the calendar the feasts of Sts Méen and Judicaël but no translations; however the manuscript's provenance is disputed.[18]

The seeming explosion of claims to possess relics of Saint-Méen after the sixteenth century can perhaps be attributed to more than just the increased production of liturgical books. By the seventeenth century, and possibly much earlier, the custom of pilgrimage to Saint-Méen was extremely widespread.[19] St Méen was viewed as a healing saint, this healing strongly linked to curative fountains which the saint is said to have been in the habit of eliciting.[20] A seventeenth-century register of visitors at the hospice of Saint-Yves at Rennes

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[16] See Chapter III, page 135, for the Obituary. Paris, BN ms. lat 9889, ff. 82 (relics of St Méen), 84 (St Austell), 94 v (St Petroc). See Duine 1922, p. 200 for Judicaël.

[17] Paris, BN ms. lat. 9889, ff. 73 v (St Méen), 90v (St Judicaël). The feast of the translation of St Méen is quite common in Breton liturgical texts, but few mention that of Judicaël. Only the aforesaid Obituary and a printed service-book of 1769 (Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, p. 50) include the August 12 feast of Judicaël's translation; strangely, a fourteenth or fifteenth-century Breviary of Saint-Méen (see Chapter III, note 181) cites for this date the translation of both Méen and Judicaël (Leroquais 1934, vol. I, p. 24).

[18] Leroquais 1924, p. 110. Fawtier cited this eleventh-century Sacramentary, perhaps from Saint-Méen (see Chapter III, page 137) as indicating a special veneration for St Judicaël but implying that relics of the saint previously held were no longer present (1925, pp. 210-2, n. 1). Leroquais concluded from the same manuscript that relics of both St Méen and St Judicaël were at Saint-Méen (1924, p. 113).

[19] Brilliot 1986, p. 258.

[20] Brilliot 1986, p. 258; "Vita S. Mevenni," p. 148 (ch. 9); Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, p. 38. The production of healing fountains is, however, commonplace in Celtic (and non-Celtic) hagiography. St Méen was said to heal the 'mal Saint-Méen,' described (no doubt at least partially affected by word-play) as 'le gale [a play on Gaël?] des mains [a play on Méen?]' (Brilliot 1986, p. 258; Fournée 1984, p. 313). According to Fournée, the earliest record of the phrase 'mal Saint-Méen' occurs in 1455.

shows a large number of pilgrims from the east (who would pass through Rennes), and gives some idea of the lengths of their journeys.[21] Based on this, Jean-Christophe Brilliot concludes that this pilgrimage was "beaucoup plus qu'un simple pèlerinage régional ... [mais] sans aucun doute un lieu de dévotion, très vénéré dans toute la moitié septentrionale du royaume."[22] This evidence, and that of the many hospices constructed in the sixteenth century to house the pilgrims,[23] post-date the Middle Ages; nevertheless Brilliot plausibly views this pilgrimage as a continuation of a medieval tradition of significant sanctuaries.[24]

Although one might wish to extrapolate from this pilgrimage the consistent presence of relics of its founder at Saint-Méen, with perhaps an interregnum during the tenth-century Viking raids, a sixteenth or seventeenth-century pilgrimage is very distant from the possession of relics at Saint-Méen in the twelfth century, the time of the theft of the relics of St Petroc. Indeed, the travels of the relics of both St Méen and St Judicaël in the tenth century may have severed the paramount link between relics and place of cult for these saints. It is in fact impossible to prove that in 1177 Saint-Méen possessed the relics of its founder, and, indeed, there is specific evidence that these relics were elsewhere.

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[21] Brilliot 1986, p. 258.

[22] Brilliot 1986, p. 260 and carte 1, p. 261.

[23] See, for example, Banéat 1973, vol. I, pp. 22 and 276, vol. II, p. 449, vol. IV, pp. 37-38, 55, and 301.

[24] Brilliot 1986, p. 278. Perhaps connected to this early modern pilgrimage is the widespread cult of St Méen in Normandy. Jean Fournée, in his assessment of the significance of Breton saints in Normandy, noted that St Méen "est assurement le saint breton le plus populaire en Normandie" (1984, pp. 311-12). Curiously, however, although St Méen has many secondary altars in Normandy, he is the patron saint of no parish in the area (Fournée 1984, pp. 318-19). Fournée concludes that the importation of this cult into Normandy was 'late' and popularly inspired (1984, p. 312). This would suggest a cult imported by just such a reputation and pilgrimage.

Saint-Florent de Saumur and the Relics of St Méen

The traditional view of the effects of the Viking raids on the abbey of Saint-Méen has been that the relics of St Méen (often in company with those of St Judicaël) were taken from Brittany in 919 because of the raids. St Méen's relics are said to have been returned in 1074 (on January 18, which is the feast of his translation); those of St Judicaël are said to have been returned in 1130.[25] The dates of 919 and 1074 (including the January 18 feast day) come from a fragment entitled *Chronicon Britannicum*; described as "late-medieval," it was in a manuscript seen by Lobineau and Morice in a church in Nantes.[26] This text seems to be of dubious historical merit, and Molinier notes that the contemporary portion begins c. 1112.[27] Nevertheless, Guillotin de Corson, for example, followed its account faithfully, stating that the relics of St Méen went to Saint-Florent and those of St Judicaël to Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes. Although the date of 919 for the departure of the relics of these saints is nowhere supported, an exodus of clergy and relics in the early tenth century is plausible;[28] the dates of their return are, however, suspect.

Saint-Florent-de-Saumur was established by monks returning after Viking

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[25] This view is most succinctly expressed by Doble (1960-70, pt. 5, p. 50) and Guillotin de Corson (1880-86, vol. II, pp. 123 and 125). More recently, Lidou has endorsed this chronology (Lidou 1983, pp. 116-17).

[26] This manuscript would seem to be no longer extant (Molinier 1901-06, vol. II, no. 1258). See Smith 1990, p. 315, n. 26. Smith attributes to the *Chronicon* the date of 1024 for the return of the relics of St Méen; the *Chronicon*, however, dates the restoration of the Abbey under Hinguéten to 1024 and the return of the relics to 1074 (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 4). Fawtier suggests that the *Chronicon* may have been composed at Saint-Méen (1925, pp. 201-2, n. 1).

[27] Molinier 1901-06, vol. II, no. 1258.

[28] Guillotel 1982, p. 277. Although Guillotel traces the paths of many groups of clergy and relics, those of Sts Méen and Judicaël are unmentioned. Robert Fawtier, however, cites Albert Le Grand's date of 878 for the transportation of the relics of St Judicaël to Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes (1925, p. 201); Smith accepts the date of 919 given by the *Chronicon* (1990, p. 315, n. 26).

depredations. The earlier foundation known as *Montglonne* (or Saint-Florent-le-Vieil) on the Loire not far from Nantes had been abandoned in the mid-ninth century for Saint-Glondon-sur-Loire.[29] On the return of the clerics Montglonne was re-established, but as a dependency of a new house, Saint-Florent-de-Saumur, which was farther west and well into Anjou.[30] The Breton links from the original foundation, so close to Nantes, persisted, but these ties became dependent more on "personal ties ... than territorial proximity."[31] To Saumur, no doubt at least in part due to these Breton ties, went the monks of Saint-Méen with the relics of their founder; for some reason the relics of St Judicaël went elsewhere, to Poitou.

A composite history written up to the thirteenth century, "Historia sancti Florentii Salmurensis,"[32] describes how at the time of Viking raids the relics of Sts Méen and Judicaël were taken into Poitou, to an unnamed church (probably Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes) where some of them were entombed in an unnamed church, and others enclosed in wood in a fortified place, Thouars, and hidden in the church of St Martin.[33] At the time of Abbot

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[29] Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, p. 380; Martindale 1992, p. 147, n. 30.

[30] Cottineau 1935, vol. II, col. 2675.

[31] Martindale 1992, p. 147. These 'personal ties' with Bretons included ties with the Breton Baderon family of Wihenoc, lord of Monmouth and founder of Monmouth priory in Wales (Flatrès 1956b, pp. 41-42) and the lords of Dol and Dinan (see below, page 246). Jones notes that while Bretons in England donated lands to some Breton abbeys, foundations outside Brittany were their chief beneficiaries (1988, p. 87).

[32] Molinier, 1901-06, vol. II, no. 1299; Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, pp. 217-328. A portion was also printed in Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 117-126 (under the title "Cronique de S. Florent").

[33] "Tempestate Normannorum, beatorum Mevenni atque Judicaelis artus Pictavo territorio, loco Exionensi dilati sunt, pars quorum in ecclesia S *** sub tabulis tumulatur, alia vero, ligneo diligenter contexta loculo, castro Toarcensi in ecclesia sancti Martini diutius reconditur;" Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, p. 261. The editors note that the "ecclesia S ***" is probably Saint-Jouin, "Ensionense monasterium" (Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, p. 261, n. 2). As there is no church of St Martin at Thouars, the editors suggest emending "Martini" to "Medardi", that

Robert, the text continues, they were translated to Saint-Florent.[34] Robert, abbot of Saint-Florent-de-Saumur, is thought to have died in 1011;[35] a path taken by fleeing clerics from Saint-Méen to Saint-Jouvin and there to Thouars (with the relics of St Judicaël) and Saint-Florent (with the relics of St Méen) seems possible, if circuitous. However, in other matters this seemingly sober chronicle is less credible.[36]

As noted above, the relics of St Judicaël seem to have left Saint-Méen for Saint-Jouin. Fawtier is unsure of the date of their return but is certain that they were ultimately restored to Saint-Méen; Smith, however, is rightfully cautious concerning the date of this return and place of their ultimate destination.[37] As for the relics of St Méen, there has in the past been little doubt that these were returned to Saint-Méen around the eleventh century, whatever the exact date. However, the reassuring notion that the relics of these Breton saints ultimately

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is St Medard (Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, p. 261, n. 3).

[34] Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, p. 261.

[35] Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, p. 252.

[36] The Cronique continues, "during the aforesaid devastation the head of St Paul [Aurelien, it would seem] was hidden in [Boussay, in the arrondissement of Nantes] ... After it was taken by a monk to be returned to Saint-Florent-le-Vieil ..." A rather confused tale of death and concealment follows, ending finally when a Breton monk visits Saint-Florent-le-Vieil and reports the presence of the head at Saint-Florent to his countrymen. A notice of a liturgical celebration of this at Saint-Florent follows the account (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 121; Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, pp. 261-262). However, the resting-place of the relics of St Paul (removed from Brittany not during but after the Viking raids in 958-60; Smith 1990, p. 324) has been firmly established as Fleury (Guillotel 1982, p. 280), where they remained throughout the Middle Ages (Smith 1990, p. 325). Curiously, the fifteenth-century Breton chronicler, Pierre le Baud, presented an account of the tenth-century travels of Breton relics, in which the relics of both St Méen and St Paul went to "S. Fleurent sur Loire," which La Borderie noted must be an error for Fleury-sur-Loire or Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (La Borderie 1896-1914, vol. II, p. 325; Cottineau 1935+, vol. II, cols, 2610-13).

[37] "I can find no evidence for the relics of Judicael after their removal to Saint-Jouin-sur-Marne in 919" (Smith 1990, p. 315, n. 26). "D'ailleurs ... les reliques auraient été là [at Saint-Méen] postérieurement à l'époque de Hinweten" (Fawtier 1925, pp. 210-2, n. 1).

returned to the primary houses founded and enriched by them, in this case Saint-Méen, is based on both supposition and the confusing web of fragmentary evidence of flight and return;[38] it is contradicted by an ostensibly straightforward piece of documentation.

Among the "mémoires" published by Morice in the eighteenth century is a document, apparently dating to the 1070s, from the Cartulary of Saint-Florent-de-Saumur.[39] In it, William, of the family of Dol-Combour and abbot of Saint-Florent,[40] received lands, revenues, and privileges (including the right to found a *bourg*) at Dinan from Geoffroy, lord of Dinan, his wife,[41] their sons Olivier and Alain, and Geoffroy's brother Rivallon Rufus,[42] in order to found a priory of Saint-Florent at Dinan, which came to be known as La-

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[38] See below, note 48.

[39] Mémoires, vol. I, col. 439. See Chédeville 1986, pp. 19-20, for the dating of this charter. Martindale points to the years between *c.* 1060 and the late 1080s as a period of numerous foundations of priories by Saint-Florent-de-Saumur (1992, pp. 152-153).

[40] Chédeville 1986, p. 20. See Genealogy.

[41] Here Geoffroy's wife is called *Ozio*; subsequent charters name her Orieldis (see below, page 259).

[42] According to Jean Métayer, this Rivallon also founded the church of Saint-Sauveur at Dinan (1986, p. 217), which appears in the 1163 papal bull listing the possessions of the abbey of Saint-Jacut (Anciens évêchés, vol. IV, p. 277); in this list also appears the church of St Petroc at Trégon (see Chapter III, page 127). Guillotel, in the context of the restoration of private churches to ecclesiastical foundations during "la pré-réforme grégorienne," points to the possibly early date of the donation of some of the churches listed in the bull; he cites Saint-Sauveur as one example (1979a, p. 260), but Chédeville refers to the story of its founding as "une tradition" and admits that its connection to Saint-Jacut is obscure (1986, p. 24). Devailly views, for compelling reasons, the effects of the Gregorian Reform on Brittany as minimal until the twelfth (and even the late twelfth) century (1968, pp. 304-5), but notes that lay donations of churches (to which these lay seigneurs, in many cases the founders, had every right) had occurred well before this, if not for the precise reasons cited by Gregory and if not in overwhelming numbers (1968, pp. 301-2).

Madelaine-du-Pont.[43] The cities of Dinan and Dol are neighbours in northeastern Brittany, and the Dinan donors were closely related to Abbot William of Saint-Florent and his Dol-Combour connections.[44] The document seems to be a series of charters or sequence of donations, for after the donation proper (and witness list) comes a narrative sequence relating how Abbot William brought to the new foundation relics of Sts Méen and Judicaël, 'and of other saints.' These, the text continues, were received with great reverence by Geoffrey and the people of Dinan; Geoffrey thanked the abbot for this gift of relics, granting additional rights at Dinan to Saint-Florent.[45] Another witness list follows this account, and the document ends with yet another account of donations followed by a third list of witnesses.

According to this charter, unpublished except by Morice,[46] at least some relics of

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[43] Chédeville 1986, p. 23. Chédeville mentions what would seem to be an earlier charter, in which Geoffroy and Rivallon's father Olivier I gave to Saint-Florent revenues from fishing on the Rance, dated a bit before 1070 (1986, p. 19); this donation appears in a composite charter listing donations of the Dol-Combour branch of the family to Saint-Florent, in which Abbot William's brothers give, among other things, 'half of the right of enclosure on the Rance to Sanctum Ciliacum [Saint-Suliac], except that portion which belongs to the monks of St Martin.' Olivier I de Dinan, his wife, Cana, and son Geoffroy, give the other half (Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 433-4). The rest of the charter concerns the founding of a priory of Saint-Florent not at Dinan, but at Dol (founded, according to the *Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis*, in 1078; see Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, p. 303), and it seems likely that these above donations are intended for this purpose, although Saint-Suliac is located on the Rance about 15 kilometres north of Dinan, closer to Dinan than to Dol. The sharing of rights in this area by the Dol and Dinan families is striking.

[44] See below, page 251. Keats-Rohan, however, cautions that relations between Dol and Dinan were often strained (1992, p. 71).

[45] "Postea tulit illuc Dominus Abbas Willelm, Reliquias de sancto Mevenno, & sancto Judicaele, & aliis sanctis, quas cum tripudio magno suscepit, tam Goffredus quam populus de Dinan, & dedit Goffredus gratia susceptarum Reliquiarum Domino Abbati Willelmo ad opus apud Dinan conversaturorum Piscarium suam à Ponte de Rentia ..." (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 439).

[46] Morice declares that the document comes from the Cartulary of Saint-Florent; as such I assume that it is calendared in M. Saché's Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790: Maine-et-Loire, Série H, II, Abbaye de Saint-Florent de Saumur, Angers 1926 (Martindale 1992, p. 137, n. 4). Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain this volume.

both St Méen and St Judicaël were at Saint-Florent (or at least within the authority of the abbot of Saint-Florent) in the eleventh century and were granted to the new priory of La-Madelaine-du-Pont at Dinan. Although this contradicts accepted tradition concerning relics of both St Méen and St Judicaël (it would then call for a supposed passage of St Judicaël's relics from Saint-Jouin to Saint-Florent), the difficulty can be solved by viewing each donation of 'relics' as a donation of partial relics.[47] Indeed, Saint-Florent's *Historia* could be read as relating the separation of the relics during their flight. This is not entirely satisfactory, and the confidence in the return of even the main relics of St Méen to Saint-Méen must be considered less secure than previously believed.[48] At the least, Saint-Méen in the late twelfth century cannot be viewed as possessing the entire and sole collection of relics of either of its primary saints, Méen and Judicaël.[49]

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[47] The possibility of multiple bodies, which is not unparalleled, should also be considered.

[48] Morice, in his Histoire, ignored the Saint-Florent charter and related a tale which he clearly cobbled together from the *Chronicon Britannicum* and a charter of Quimper (and perhaps the fifteenth-century history of the rather notorious Pierre Le Baud). Perhaps to retain the simple chronology presented by the *Chronicon*, he presented a departure of relics in 919 (those of Sts Méen and Judicaël: Morice 1750-56, vol. I, p. 58) and a return of those of St Méen around 1074. Morice related that Hoël, the then duke of Brittany, defeated a rebellion of Breton lords in Cornouaille (his original conté) in 1073 and in thanksgiving donated lands to the church of Quimper "et fit reporter les Reliques de S. Meen de l'Abbaye de S. Florent en Saumur en celle de Gael" (Morice 1750-56, vol. I, pp. 77-78). Yet among Morice's "preuves" he included a text from the Cartulary of Quimper, "Plusieurs dons faits à l'église de Quimper par les Comptes de Cornouaille," which includes a narrative account of Hoël's return and donation; there is no mention of any relics (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 378). The rebellion and victory some time after 1072 is sufficiently attested (Chédeville and Tonnerre, 1987, p. 63); the return of the relics is not.

[49] In the seventeenth century the Abbey of Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys claimed to possess relics of St Méen (Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, p. 53; Duine 1922, no. CCXXXIX). Evidently Saint-Gildas-de-Rhuys had, at least in the tenth century, an especially lavish relic collection (Duine 1916, p. 60). At some unspecified date Saint-Nic in western Brittany (Cornouaille) also claimed to possess relics of St Méen (Doble 1960-70, pt. 5, p. 53). Farther afield, thirteenth and fourteenth-century relic lists of Glastonbury Abbey include relics of Sts Méen and Judicaël (Thomas 1974, pp. 343-4, 418, and 434). James Carley noted elsewhere that "Glastonbury was ... an unusually active subscriber to what might be described as a *furta sacra* revisionism" (Carley 1988, p. 125). One

That a priory at Dinan, founded under the auspices of the Dinan family and remaining in the interests of that family, possibly both its Breton and English (west country) branches,[50] claimed to possess some relics significant to Saint-Méen is perhaps a coincidence; nevertheless, when the relics of St Petroc were stolen the thief first went to the area of Dinan, possibly tried to enlist the help of Roland de Dinan, justiciar of Brittany, and ended up at Saint-Méen. That this same Dinan family also founded Hartland Abbey in northwest Devon, in the same area of the earliest evidence of a Devonshire cult of St Petroc, is still more intriguing.[51]

Dol-Dinan Prosopography

Katharine Keats-Rohan has shown how complex and interconnected were the blood and marriage bonds of the Breton and Anglo-Breton lords; the Dinan family is certainly no exception. The Dinans were related by blood or marriage to the archbishops of Dol,[52] and to the lords of Dol-Combour, Richmond-Penthièvre, Vitré, Avaugour, and to the Fitzwarins, to

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other British house claimed relics of St Méen; Christchurch cathedral priory at Canterbury included St Méen in a fourteenth-century list (Thomas 1974, p. 342 and 434). As for Saint-Florent itself, an "inventaire des reliques et joyaux, etc." of Dec. 27, 1538 claims no relics of St Méen, but includes (in addition to many unidentified relics) "une couronne de verneil, qui est la couronne de saint Judicaël, roi de Bretagne" (Parrot 1880, p. 239).

[50] See below, page 276, for subsequent involvement of the Dinans in La-Madelaine-du-Pont.

[51] See also note 1.

[52] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, describing episcopal dynasties of the period before the Gregorian reform came to Brittany, noted the number of bishop-elects of Dol drawn in a short period of time from this family, although he erred in attributing the Dol-Combour, Dinan, and Poëlet seigneuries to territories of the archbishopric of Dol dismantled and alienated by Junguenée (1960, p. 877; see below for Junguenée).

name but a few.[53]

The Dol-Combour, Dinan, and Poëlet lordships seem to be descended from Hamon (or Haimon) I, described as *vicomte* of Poëlet and, as Keats-Rohan describes her, "Roiantelina *filia Riutall*, the so-called *vicecomitissa* of Dol."[54] Hamon and Roiantelina had at least four sons: Hamon II, whose position is somewhat obscure but who seems to hold lands west of Dinan;[55] Junguenée, archbishop of Dol, "perhaps one of the most influential of the men around Alan III [duke of Brittany];"[56] Josselin (the ancestor of the Dinan family proper), given the seigneurie of Dinan;[57] and Rivallon, for whom the seigneurie of Combour was created,[58] This latter, as Keats-Rohan has abundantly documented, was William I's only Breton ally (albeit, she argues, a reluctant one) in the Norman campaign in Brittany of 1064.[59] Rivallon's sons included William, abbot of Saint-Florent, John I of Dol, archbishop-

[53] See Genealogy; also Keats-Rohan 1994, p. 19, for the trans-regional connections of various Dol-Dinan ancestors. Métayer cautions that the Dinan genealogy is complex and often obscure, in no small part due to the frequent appearance of Oliviers, Alains, Geoffroys, and Rolands (1986, p. 214).

[54] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 164. Métayer argues that the lands which would form the centre of the Breton Dinan possessions, Dinan itself, came from Roiantelina, through her relation to Riwald, cupbearer of Wicohen, bishop of Dol (1986, p. 216; Jones 1987, p. 12).

[55] Chédeville 1986, p. 16.

[56] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 164.

[57] Josselin signs a charter of Berthe, widow of Alain III (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 393 signed by Gotscelinus de Dinan) and another, a donation of 1064-1066 to the abbey of Saint-Nicholas d'Angers (Chédeville 1986, pp. 15-16).

[58] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 164. These four are attested by a charter of 1029 x 1037 (Chédeville 1986, p. 15; Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, no. CCLXXXIX, p. 237) and an inquest of 1181 (Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 164; Mémoires, vol. I, pp. 383 and 682-87).

[59] Keats-Rohan 1990, pp. 165-66 and 1992, p. 52. Tonnerre gives this Rivallon as "un personnage obscur" and describes the Rivallon who is the ally of William I as Hamon II's son, not brother (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 154-5); he views Rivallon as instigating a revolt against the Breton duke, during the course of which he made an appeal for assistance to William

elect of Dol,[60] Gilduin, also archbishop-elect of Dol and later St Gilduin,[61] and Geoffrey, this latter a vassal of Robert of Mortain and father of men who were recruited by Henry I.[62] Thus from their foundation the Dinans were related to several seigneurial families of the eastern Breton and western Norman regions; subsequent intermarriage would extend and strengthen these ties.

Bretons and the Post-Conquest Kings of England

Katharine Keats-Rohan has stressed the participation of many groups in what she calls the 'non-Norman Conquest.'[63] Each group of 'non-Normans,' she points out, represented "an area from which William and his duchy had something to fear";[64] among these are a significant number of Bretons. These Bretons, she argues, also played a significant part in Henry I's exercise of patronage and his attempt to create a class of 'new men' with chiefly

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I (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 43). Keats-Rohan argues that Rivallon, having lands at stake in western Normandy, may have become, "willingly or not, an accomplice in William's plans for an exemplary campaign in Brittany" (1990, pp. 165-66).

[60] According to some accounts, Matilda, the daughter of Robert of Avranches and his wife Havoise, the latter the daughter of Gilduin II of Dol and granddaughter of John I of Dol, married an illegitimate son of Henry I, Robert fitz Roy (Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 50). This Robert should not be confused with another illegitimate son of Henry I, Robert earl of Gloucester (Given-Wilson and Curteis 1984, pp. 63, 65), who donated a number of Cornish churches to St James, Bristol (Chapter IV, page 219).

[61] Gilduin had been a canon of the Dol chapter, was elected archbishop of Dol, rejected by Pope Gregory VII because of his youth, and became a monk of Chartres (Duine 1916, p. 87, 112-13; Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 168).

[62] Keats-Rohan 1990, pp. 168-69.

[63] As Keats-Rohan puts it, "though there is no doubt that William of Normandy's conquest of England was undertaken for purely Norman reasons" it involved many other groups, whose "significance ... is unrelated to their numbers" (1990, pp. 157-8).

[64] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 158. These groups come from Maine, Flanders, Blois, France, Anjou, and Poitou, both East and West Normandy, as well as from Brittany (Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 157).

English interests.[65] However, Keats-Rohan argues, the Anglo-Bretons were set apart from other regional groups by their strong sense of *patria*, prevalent among both the Celtic western Bretons and the eastern Bretons.[66] Their continuing connection with Breton affairs (and lack of landed wealth in Normandy)[67] significantly affected their actions in England;[68] at the least they played their part in the Anglo-Norman events without worrying whether the king of

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[65] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 158.

[66] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 159; 1992, p. 54. She offers this as a context for the events of Henry II's reign, "when many of the Bretons who had fought for [Henry II] before 1154 thereafter actively opposed his aggressions in Brittany thereafter (1992, p. 52).

[67] Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 68.

[68] While Keats-Rohan argues convincingly that during the reign of Stephen the support of the house of Richmond-Penthièvre for Stephen and that of Dol-Fougères-Lamballe for Matilda were as much conditioned by Breton as English considerations (1990, pp. 166-67; 1992, p. 59 *passim*), her contention that the origin of these divisions lay in Rivallon's support of William in 1064 is less compelling. Rivallon, she notes, stood alone against duke Conan II, Eudes of Penthièvre (Eudes is also called Eudon, but will here be referred to as Eudes, in order to distinguish him from another Eudon, Eudon II de Porhoët), and other Bretons (1990, p. 166). Indeed, Brittany seems unusually united against William and Rivallon during this campaign (1992, p. 52). Yet she continues, "the result of the Breton war of 1064 was the division of the Breton barons into two hostile camps. The origins of the Breton divisions in England, exemplified by a broad separation of their holdings, thus went back to 1064, when the house of Penthièvre and it's affinities opposed Rivallon of Dol and his supporters" (1990, p. 166). However, the point she has made is that Rivallon stood very much alone; other Dol-Combour-Dinan-Vitré factions of northeast Brittany and southwest England did not support Rivallon; indeed, she stresses that during the 'earls' revolt of 1075 Rivallon's son John seems to have assisted Breton rebels against William, and concludes, "by supporting the rebels against William, John not only reversed the policy of his father Rivallon, he clearly disassociated himself from it" (1990, p. 167). She cites William of Poitiers who relates how the local Bretons even hid food from the invading Normans (1990, p. 166). Elsewhere, however, in the context of later Anglo-Breton rivalries in England, she changes her opinion: "many of the Bretons of south-west England after 1066 had probably either directly or indirectly supported Rivallon and William in 1064 (1992, p. 52). Certainly geopolitically-based Anglo-Breton factions are clearly visible for much of post-Conquest English history; however, it is perhaps unwise to attribute this to one single instigating event, such as Rivallon's support of William in 1064.

England was also the duke of Normandy.[69] Keats-Rohan divides these Anglo-Bretons into three groups, two of which are of interest to this discussion:[70] one was partly associated with the Breton and Norman ducal families and was based in the north of England (at Richmond).[71] The second was associated with the west Normans and the Count of Mortain, and settled mostly in the southwest. Relations, Keats-Rohan points out, between these two groups were not good, and each group existed uneasily with the Breton ducal family.[72]

In the immediate pre- and post-Conquest period the area around Dol and Dinan became increasingly significant: not only was it part of the march between Brittany and western Normandy, but it had achieved a certain independence from the dukes of Normandy

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[69] Keats-Rohan 1992, pp. 63-64. This, of course, particularly affected the struggle between Stephen and Matilda.

[70] A third anomalous group had no special relationship to William (Keats-Rohan 1990, pp. 159-60) and played no significant part in the events here discussed.

[71] The head of the Richmond-Penthièvre (so called by Keats-Rohan in order to distinguish them from their senior branch, the dukes of Brittany), Eudes, was the brother of Alain III, duke of Brittany; he was loyal to his brother but he and his successors opposed the ducal family during subsequent minorities (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 41-43). Of the many sons of Eudes, some retained purely Breton interests (and plagued the dukes), some, notably Alain of Richmond, were installed in the north of England, and one, Brient, seems to have participated in the Conquest itself and held land in Cornwall for a time (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 78; Keats-Rohan 1990, pp. 160-61). Eudes's extra-ducal seats of authority, Penthièvre, in the north-centre of the Breton peninsula (around Saint-Brieuc), and Trégor, to the west of Penthièvre, were often beyond ducal authority (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 45, 71; La Borderie 1905-14, vol. III, p. 12); in this area lies one site named from St Petroc, Lopérec E (see Chapter III, note 313).

The 'honour' of Richmond was one of four lordships set apart from other Yorkshire Domesday fees by their "extensive and compact" character (Dalton 1994, p. 39 and map 5) as opposed to the scattered Yorkshire estates of Robert of Mortain (Dalton 1994, p. 49). Paul Dalton discerns "the maintenance of a considerable degree of administrative continuity, and the effective imposition of Norman seigneurial authority in certain parts of these lordships [Richmond and Pontefract] after 1066" (1994, p. 43).

[72] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 164.

due to the Viking settlements in the Cotentin.[73] A position near the Rance estuary placed these sites, as Chédeville notes, at the intersection of routes of sea and land.[74] Many of the seigneurs of the area also held lands in the Cotentin, Maine, and Anjou and thus were able to wield considerable power over Norman and Breton dukes in their various crises and minorities.[75] A "community of interest between the Bretons of north-east Brittany and the men of western Normandy," Keats-Rohan argues, makes sense of the post-Conquest settlement patterns of Bretons in England; William I had to carefully cultivate or intimidate these lords for his own security. These Bretons settled mostly in southwest England with the western Norman Robert of Mortain as opposed to the other distinct group of Bretons settled in the north of England.[76]

Cornwall itself figures only intermittently: Brient, a son of Eudes of Penthièvre, is said to have received Cornwall and Devon at the Conquest (before Robert of Mortain), but the evidence for this is flimsy. In a charter of 1140, Alain of Richmond (the husband of the ducal heiress Berthe and a grandson of Eudes of Penthièvre) stated that he possessed Cornwall as

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[73] Keats-Rohan 1990, pp. 158 and 161. Chédeville notes that although the general area of Dinan shows signs of occupation during the Gallo-Roman and Carolingian periods, Dinan itself shows no signs of significant occupation before the eleventh century (Chédeville 1986, p. 19; Métayer 1986, p. 216). Jones points out that in addition to Bretons from northeast Brittany in England, most of the Bretons emigrating to France also came from this area (Jones 1988, p. 76). Chédeville stresses the military aspect of the city of Dinan, reflected in the very name of the city and family (see below note 169), and notes that the Bayeaux tapestry depicts both a castle at Dol and another belonging to the 'Dinantes' (not the inhabitants of Dinan, he argues, but the lords of Dinan) which is not necessarily at Dinan (Chédeville 1986, pp. 17-18).

[74] Chédeville 1986, pp. 20-22. See also H. Bourde de la Rogerie 1928, p. 92: "le donjon de Dinan domina la Rance et l'ancienne voie romaine de Rennes à Corseul."

[75] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 162. See below, note 59, for the disproportionately significant role lands held by Bretons outside of Brittany played in William I's 1064 campaign in Brittany.

[76] Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 51.

an inheritance from his uncle Brient; Golding doubts that Alain of Richmond had any hereditary right to the county.[77] However, Golding points out that Brient was Robert of Mortain's *antecessor* in other landholdings, notably in Suffolk and possibly in Cornwall.[78] Keats-Rohan doubts that Brient spent much time in England after the Conquest; elsewhere she notes that Alain of Richmond was Stephen's nominee as earl of Cornwall, that he was easily ousted by Reginald fitz Roy, and comments, "nor was this surprising since the only ground for intruding Alan into that county was the one-time link of his uncle Brien of Penthièvre with Cornwall, something which did not survive even into the time of Domesday Book."[79] Certainly by the time Robert of Mortain held much of Cornwall he had several Breton tenants, possibly because of Brient of Brittany or because of ties between Bretons and Normans of the border area of Normandy (including Mortain).[80]

Jones describes Cornwall as a region with one of the greatest densities of lesser Breton seigneurs.[81] Several factors contributed to this Breton population in Cornwall: Brient's perhaps temporary presence in the county; the presence of Robert of Mortain, his relatives, and his neighbours from eastern Brittany and the marcher area; and, perhaps most significant, the installation of 'new men' by Henry I. Some combination of these factors may be operating, and certainly the Bretons appearing in Cornwall under Henry I (after the fall of

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[77] The Cartulary of St. Michael's Mount, no. 5; Golding 1990, p. 126.

[78] Golding 1990, pp. 127-28.

[79] Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 160; 1992, p. 65. Stephen had also created Alain as earl of Richmond in 1136, which, Dalton argues, may have exacerbated competition between Alain and William, earl of York (1994, pp. 166-7)

[80] Golding 1990, pp. 128, 136; Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 49 and n. 29.

[81] Jones 1988, p. 76 and n. 24.

Robert of Mortain's son William in rebellion against Henry) can be interpreted in two ways: Keats-Rohan cites Henry I's ability to regrant to vast Mortain lands to his 'new men' in the southwest (who may, she notes, already have had relatives there).[82] Soulsby argues that these Bretons were not newly introduced, but were sub-tenants of William of Mortain elevated to status of tenants-in-chief.[83] These factors, of course, were complemented by a cultural and linguistic commonality. The seigneurs of the Dol-Dinan area of eastern Brittany probably spoke and understood Breton; those slightly further east (Vitré) probably at least understood the language.[84] However, the sense among the Bretons as inhabitants of a Breton *patria*[85] is

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[82] Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 67. A number of factors may have directed Henry I's west-country recruiting to the Dol-Dinan area, including tenurial links to Mortain lands through the abbey of Mont Saint-Michel and Henry's flight to Brittany after being besieged at Mont Saint-Michel by his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, in 1091 (Keats-Rohan 1992, pp. 57-9 and 1994, p. 34).

[83] Soulsby 1986, pp. 40-1. See also Hudson (1994, p. 204), who points out that the security of tenure of tenants in chief was far less than that of tenants beneath them: "It was the peculiar political disturbances involving the royal house which endangered the greatest families; their followers often survived, be it as tenants of a new lord or as tenants in chief."

[84] The linguistic map of Brittany has been most fully examined with reference to the extent and origin of the Breton-speaking regions in the earliest period (Tanguy 1980, *passim*), although Jones has remarked on the extent of Breton in the fourteenth century (1988, pp. 304-6). The language of the inhabitants of Haute Bretagne (such as those from the Dol-Dinan area) has received less attention. Clearly these Bretons belonged to the French-affected *Bretagne Gallo* rather than the western *Bretagne Bretonnante* (see Ieuan E. Jones 1988, *passim*); however the extent to which speakers of the language of each area spoke or understood that of the other remains, for this period, debatable. Léon Fleuriot, however, has described a "zone mixte" in which Breton and French (proto-French) would have been spoken side by side for the period between the fifth and thirteenth centuries (in places between the ninth and twelfth centuries). This "zone mixte" includes the Rance estuary (Dinan, Lehon) but omits those cities further east, Bécherel, Combour, Montfort, as well as those in the extreme east, Fougères and Vitré (Fleuriot 1982, p. 251).

[85] Above, page 253. Ieuan E. Jones has discerned some significant sense of regional (that is to say, Breton) identity among Bretons from both Haute and Basse Bretagne (1988, *passim*). It should perhaps be noted that in 1979 William Kapelle argued for deliberate settlement of Bretons and western Normans in the north of England based at least partly on the type of crop grown in the areas of origin and settlement (Kapelle 1979, p. 229) but his theory has been criticised (Barrow 1980, pp. 462-3; Green 1990, p. 92).

clear and striking; it would seem to be based on more than a common (if spoken and understood in varying levels of facility) language.

English and Breton Dinans

The chroniclers of the Norman Conquest often mention the participation of Bretons; only later did Wace list them by name.[86] Some of those included by Wace clearly did not participate in the Conquest, including the Dinan family.[87] Yet Wace's contention that "li Sire i vint de Dinan" to England with William the Conqueror has had a potent effect on subsequent accounts of the Dinans.[88] Yet the Dinans, Michael Jones stresses, are not known to have come to England with William, and are absent from Domesday Book.[89]

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[86] Hubert Guillotel as quoted in Jones 1988, p. 73 and n. 15. According to Hubert Guillotel, William mostly recruited small lords in Brittany; this, he argues is why chroniclers don't include their names (quoted in Jones 1988, p. 74).

[87] Roman de Rou, pt. II, p. 143. This information does not appear in Wace's known sources (Jones 1988, p. 74, n. 17; 1987, p. 18).

[88] Métayer (1986, p. 216) has Olivier I of Dinan, the son of Josselin and grandson of Hamon II participating in the Conquest and receiving English lands from William I; Chédeville seems to credit Wace's account (1986, p. 19). Certainly it is easy to extrapolate from the firmly-established Anglo-Breton Dinans of the twelfth century their participation in the Conquest.

[89] Jones 1986, p. 221 and 1987, p. 18; Chope 1940, p. 26. Keats-Rohan sees Olivier I de Dinan in an 'Oliver' found among the Devonshire Domesday landholders (Domesday Book: Devon, 36,16; 36,18 and 36,26), but does not explain why (1990, p. 170 and n. 59); Certainly, as she states, the Book of Fees records in 1212 that a Devonshire manor donated to the monks of Saint-Malo de Dinan by Olivier de Dinan, had been given to his ancestors by William, "set nescitur per quod servicium" (Liber Feodarum, p. 96; Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 71, n. 101); the credibility of this account must be somewhat suspect. Similarly, she sees André de Vitré in an 'Andreas' holding land of the Count of Mortain in Cornwall (Domesday Book: Cornwall, 5,24,22-23). Elsewhere she cites Ian Soulsby's unpublished MA thesis, "The Fiefs in England of the Count of Mortain, 1066-1106" (University of Wales, 1974), which may have provided this information (Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 49, n. 28). André de Vitré was a son-in-law of Robert of Mortain (Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 170; 1993, pp. 32-33); see below, page 267, for the Vitré family.

The first evidence of Dinans in England comes with a grant to the abbey of Marmoutier (located near Tours, but with significant Breton interests), dated 1122, of English manors, 'which I hold as a gift from king Henry [I]' from Geoffroy [I] of Dinan, his wife Orieldis, and their son Olivier [II].[90] Jones argues convincingly that the Dinans came in the twelfth century as part of Henry I's 'new men', a class consciously created with "interests ... predominantly English;" and points to the Marmoutier charter's explicit mentions of Henry I's official patronage.[91] The Pipe Roll of Henry I shows the holdings of two of the three sons of Geoffrey I of Dinan:[92] those of Olivier [II] are in Devonshire;[93] those of Alain (lord of Bécherel and often styled 'of Dinan-Bécherel') are in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Dorset, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire.[94] A third son, Josselin, seems to have come to prominence later, the only one of the three brothers to intervene actively in the struggle between Stephen and Matilda (on Matilda's side).[95]

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[90] Jones 1987, p. 18; Calendar of Documents Preserved in France. Vol. I: A.D. 918-1206, nos. 1181 and 1185; Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 545-46. This Geoffroy I and his family are also the founders of the priory of La-Madelaine-du-Pont at Dinan (above, page 247). See also below, page 276, for the continuing association of the English Dinhams, these manors, and Marmoutier.

[91] Jones 1986, p. 221; Keats-Rohan 1990, p. 158; 1992, p. 56. Judith Green, in her survey of Henry I's 'new men' (Green 1986), does not mention any Dinans, but Jones credits her with drawing his attention to the connection between Alain de Dinan-Bécherel and Henry I (1987, p. 10).

[92] Jones 1986, p. 222. Chope alone attributes to Geoffroy I five sons: in addition to Oliver II, Alain, and Josselin, he notes a 'William the abbot' and a Rolland (1940, p. 26).

[93] Magnum Rotulum, p. 157. This Olivier II married a Penthièvre (Chédeville 1986, p. 23), of the ducal family which also held the significant Honour of Richmond in northern England (Keats-Rohan 1990, pp. 160-61).

[94] Magnum Rotulum, pp. 16, 39, 46, 48-49, 62, 86, 104, 159-60.

[95] Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 71 and n. 101. Jones believes that Alain de Dinan fought for Stephen (1986, p. 222; 1987, p. 20); he is perhaps relying on the account of Oderic Vitalis including 'Alain of Dinan' as a partisan of Stephen (Ecclesiastical History, vol. vi, pp. 468, 532, and 542). Keats-Rohan has argued that in fact Oderic here refers to Alain of Richmond-Penthièvre of the

In the early twelfth century, probably on the death of their father Geoffroy I, Olivier II and his brother Alain divided Dinan, the north going to Olivier II and the south to Alain de Dinan-Bécherel (who also retained the Breton castle of Bécherel).[96] In addition, Jones argues, part of the agreement may have been that Alain would get most of the family's English lands.[97] Olivier II's sons seem to follow this pattern, with one, Geoffroy II de Dinan, becoming lord of Dinan nord in Brittany and another, Olivier of Dinham,[98] establishing an increasingly English domain. Yet Olivier II and Alain, and Geoffroy II and Olivier of Dinham did merely divide their authority along the Channel; their subsequent careers show involvement in both Britain and Brittany, as well as with each other.

Anglo-Breton Estates: the Example of Hartland

Hartland abbey in north-west Devonshire provides a typical example of the Anglo-Breton holdings of the Dinans. The lordship of the very large manor of Hartland seems, in the twelfth century, to have fluctuated between several branches of the Dinan family, both its English and Breton branches, and it is not always clear who was lord of the manor and how this came about.[99] Certainly the manor of Hartland and the area around it (including the

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ducal family (1992, p. 70).

[96] Chédeville 1986, p. 24; Métayer 1986, p. 217; Jones 1987, p. 26.

[97] Jones 1986, pp. 223-24; Jones 1987, p. 26. Apart from any land coming to him from this agreement, Alain would seem to have gained many possessions in England from Henry I, probably from his participation in the latter's war with France. Jones points to the description of Alain as one who "pugnavit contra pugilem regis Francie intra Gysorz et Trie" which appears in an entry dated 1242-43 in the Book of Fees (Liber Feodarum, p. 937; Jones 1986, p. 223).

[98] See below, page 274, for these Dinhams.

[99] Jones 1988, p. 85, n. 61; 1987, p. 26.

manor of Stoke, in which Hartland abbey was located) belonged to the Dinan family;[100] certainly also Roland de Dinan lost Hartland manor to the king in 1167-8.[101] Hartland and its estates ultimately became the possession of Olivier of Dinham and his family, and Olivier of Dinham is the twelfth-century Dinan (or Dinham) most often mentioned in connection with Hartland, both manor and abbey. However, it is also clear that Olivier's 'Breton' brother Geoffroy II de Dinan (lord of Dinan nord) as well as their cousin Roland de Dinan (lord of Dinan sud) were also deeply involved with these Devonshire possessions.

Domesday makes it clear that there had been an existing foundation at Stoke (or Stoke St Nectan).[102] The second miracle related by the *Miracula S. Nectani martyris* states that it was Gytha (Godwin's wife) who gave the manor of Hartland to the abbey; the first of the *Miracula* names Athelstan as a benefactor.[103] Although these accounts of the founding of Stoke are, as Pearce notes, "muddled," she continues: "there can be no real doubt that Stoke functioned as an old English minster, and as such is unlikely to have been founded after, say, 730."[104]

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[100] Jones includes Hartland as one manor held 'at the latest' by 1167-8 by the Dinan family (1986, p. 232).

[101] See Appendix III. Roland lost many (apparently, however, not all) estates to the crown in 1167-68, no doubt because of his participation in the Breton rebellion of that year (below, pages 282ff).

[102] Domesday Book: Devon, 45,3 (*Nistenestoch*; Exoniensis *Nistenestoc*); [Exoniensis Domesday, Devon], p. 518.

[103] "Vie de S. Rumon. Vie, invention et miracles de S. Nectan," pp. 406, 408. Grosjean argues that the *Miracula*, in its original state, was certainly composed before the later twelfth century, according to the date of the substitution of Augustinian canons ("Vie de S. Rumon. Vie, invention et miracles de S. Nectan," p. 387).

[104] Pearce suggests further that Stoke looks very much like a "British monastery ... founded between, say, 500 and 560 and endowed with what remained, essentially, the monastic estate until the 1540s" (1985, p. 266).

The account, in the *Miracula Nectani*, of the transformation of the church at Hartland from a house of secular canons into an Augustinian abbey specifies that the lord of the place ("dominus fundi") was Geoffroy [II] de Dinan,[105] and further, that Geoffroy allowed the substitution of orders as he was annoyed at the failure of the prior and secular canons of Hartland to pay sixty shillings to him annually.[106] The account adds that both Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter (who also found the canons difficult) and Henry II agreed with the substitution.[107] Certainly Geoffroy [II] de Dinan is known as the founder of Hartland: a charter of Henry II of 1168-9 transferred the abbey to the hands of Richard the archdeacon of Poitiers (part of the process of the installation of the Arrosians)[108] and remitted the sixty shillings of payment;[109] this charter mentions only Geoffroy.[110] Subsequent confirmations by Richard I (1189) and John (1199) concerning the actual transformation from secular to regular canons state that this was done with the consent of Henry II, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, and "Geoffroy the elder of Dinan and Olivier his brother, and Geoffroy the son of

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[105] It is difficult to differentiate between Geoffroy II and his nephew, Geoffroy, son of Olivier of Dinham, just as it is difficult to differentiate between Olivier of Dinham and his nephew, Olivier [III] de Dinan. Although both Geoffroys are sons of Oliviers (as the charter of Henry II describes the donor of Stoke), the confirmations of Richard I and John clearly state that Stoke was given "ex dono Galfridi de Dynam senioris, fundatoris eorum" (Dugdale 1655-73, vol. vi, pp. 436-7; The Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls 1-10, p. 122): that is, Geoffroy II de Dinan, the uncle of Geoffroy of Dinham.

[106] "Vie de S. Rumon. Vie, invention et miracles de S. Nectan," pp. 411-12.

[107] John Blair has commented on the increasing hostility towards secular canons on the part of bishops and nobility in the twelfth century (1985, p. 137).

[108] "Vie de S. Rumon. Vie, invention et miracles de S. Nectan," p. 377; The Augustinian rule of Saint-Nicholas d'Arrouaise was adopted at Hartland (Chope 1940, p. 55; Jones 1988, p. 88), which was, since the substitution of rules, made into an abbey, not a priory ("Vie de S. Rumon. Vie, invention et miracles de S. Nectan," p. 377).

[109] "Vie de S. Rumon. Vie, invention, et miracles de S. Nectan," p. 377.

[110] Dugdale 1655-73, vol. vi, p. 426; Doble 1960-70, p. 73, n. 36.

Olivier, in whose fief and lordship this church was established."[111] All three documents mention the sixty shilling payment. This payment, the *Miracula* imply, had been owed (and not paid) over a long period of time: Geoffroy II's lordship of Stoke would not seem to be a recent undertaking. According to Grosjean the Arrosian canons arrived at the earliest in 1168, at the latest in the autumn of 1169, but the process may have been put in motion earlier.[112] This (and the dating to 1168-9 of Henry II's charter mentioning Geoffroy) would seem to imply that Geoffroy possessed these English estates at the same time as or even before Roland (who lost Hartland in 1167-8) and the family of Alain de Dinan-Bécherel.

It is important to distinguish between Hartland abbey, Hartland manor, and Stoke manor. In 1086 the king himself held the manor of Hartland,[113] while Gerald the Chaplain held the manor of Stoke "and the canons of this place [i.e. of St Nectan] from him. They held it themselves before 1066."[114] The transformed Hartland abbey was based on the manor of Stoke (or Stoke St Nectan), which had probably been carved out of Hartland manor.[115] Stoke obviously had become part of the Dinan possessions by the time of the substitution of

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[111] Dugdale 1655-73, vol. vi, p. 426 (Richard I) and The Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls 1-10, no. 246 (John): "assensu et voluntate Gaufridi de Dinam senioris et Oliveri fratris sui, et Gaufridi filii Oliveri; in quorum feodo et dominio eadem ecclesia est fundata." See also "Vie de S. Rumon. Vie, invention et miracles de S. Nectan," p. 377.

[112] "Vie de S. Rumon. Vie, invention, et miracles de S. Nectan," p. 378.

[113] Domesday Book: Devon, 1,30. Hartland was among the manors willed by King Alfred to his son Edward (Hooke 1994, pp. 103-4; Alfred the Great, p. 175); among the lands willed to the younger son Æthelweard is Meon in Hampshire, which also ends up with the Dinans (see Appendix III). The Domesday account states that the manor of Hartland, among others, was held by Gytha, mother of earl Harold in 1066 (Domesday Book: Devon, heading at 1,29).

[114] Domesday Book: Devon, 45,3; [Exoniensis Domesday, Devon], p. 518.

[115] Chope 1902, p. 419.

Augustinian canons[116] and was subsequently given by the Dinans to Hartland abbey, which held it to the dissolution.[117] Although first Roland and then later his cousin Olivier of Dinham held the manor of Hartland itself, Chope argues that Geoffroy must have possessed land ("a considerable amount of property") in the area of Hartland, perhaps accounting for his contribution under Devonshire to an aid of 1165.[118] Henry II's charter mentions only Geoffroy as the donor of the church of Hartland and all its (unnamed) lands and possessions, together with Becheton (Abbots Bickington, some distance from Hartland in Black Torrington hundred).[119] Yet the later confirmations clearly indicate that Geoffroy's contribution was of land and services owed at Stoke and Bechaton and some additional small lands in the area, while Olivier of Dinham (Geoffroy's brother) and his son Geoffroy donated land at Marcaden and Shopshill in Hartland manor.[120]

Geoffroy and his brother Olivier must have possessed separate but adjoining lands; the endowment and foundation of Hartland abbey was, it would seem, very much a cooperative affair between brothers having distinct possessions and areas of authority. Clearly, any

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[116] Chope 1940, p. 54.

[117] Domesday Book: Devon, 45,3, notes; Pearce 1985, p. 265. In the dissolution Computus Ministrorum the "situs prioratus cum terris dominicalibus" are located in "Harteland;" Stoke is twice described as "Stoke alias Herteland," and once as "Herteland alias Stoke" (Dugdale 1655-73, vol. vi, p. 437).

[118] Chope 1940, p. 27; PR 11 Henry II, p. 79. See Appendix III.

[119] Gover, Mawer, and Stenton 1931-2, vol. I, pp. 124-5. Like the manor of Stoke, the manor of Abbots Bickington was held by Gerald the Chaplain at Domesday (Domesday Book: Devon, 54,2).

[120] Dugdale 1655-73, vol. vi, p. 436; The Cartæ Antiquæ, Rolls 1-10, p. 122; Chope 1940, pp. 56-7. Marcadon and Shopshill lie on the edge of the manor of Stoke, but, it would seem, within the manor of Hartland (Chope 1902, p. 422 and map; Gover, Mawer, and Stenton 1931-2, vol. I, p. 75; Pearce 1985, p. 265).

agreement concluded between Olivier II de Dinan (the father of Olivier of Dinham and Geoffroy II de Dinan) and his brother Alain (the father of Roland) giving most of the English possessions to Alain and most of the Breton estates to Olivier II did not include a significant number of Devonshire estates.[121] In 1130 Olivier II held land only in Devonshire, in contrast to his brother Alain's extensive holdings; some thirty years later Olivier II's sons were holding these Devonshire estates, although at some point Alain's son Roland had at least the manor of Hartland. However, soon after Roland lost Hartland it came to his cousin Olivier of Dinham, and thus back to the family of Olivier II de Dinan.[122] Olivier of Dinham's brother Geoffroy II de Dinan also obviously held land in the vicinity. Certainly Olivier II de Dinan and his sons, while chiefly concerned in Breton affairs,[123] remained a factor in twelfth-century Devonshire. Most striking, for the purposes of this discussion, is the apparent link between Olivier of Dinham's tenurial career and that of his cousin Roland de Dinan, and the lack of such a link between the career of Olivier of Dinham's brother Geoffroy and that of Roland. This apparent link is not entirely explicable, but is interesting in light of the likely participation of both Roland and Olivier of Dinham in the Breton rebellion of 1168.[124]

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[121] above, page 260 and note 97. Jones has pointed out, however, the complexity of whatever 'agreement' might have divided the English possessions: some English lands were held by Alain and Roland but were ultimately returned to the family of Olivier of Dinham (1988, p. 85, n. 61).

[122] Jones 1987, p. 26. Chope noted that Roland's uncle, Olivier II de Dinan, died in 1150, and that the manor of Hartland went in 1169 to his son Olivier of Dinham (Chope 1918, p. 432; 1940, p. 26). See Appendix III, under Hartland.

[123] According to Keats-Rohan (1992, pp. 71-2) Olivier II's wife Gonnor or Agnorée, was the sister of several significant Bretons and Anglo-Bretons of the Richmond-Penthièvre family, of Alain III (count of Richmond and husband of the Breton ducal heiress Berthe) and Geoffroy Boterel II (who had fought with his brother for the Breton possessions of this family, seizing Lamballe and Penthièvre). Other lists of the brothers and sisters of Alain III and Geoffroy Boterel II do not include her (for example, Galliou and Jones 1991, fig. 1, p. 191).

[124] below, pages 284ff.

The later tenurial history of Hartland also involved other branches of the Dinan family: the daughters of the third son of Geoffroy I, the distant Josselin, subsequently, if temporarily, asserted their interest in Buckland Denham (Somerset) and Hartland against Olivier de Dinham.[125] Ultimately Hartland manor was to become the seat of the Devonshire Dinhams, the descendants of Olivier of Dinham, while the patronage of Hartland abbey remained vested in this Dinham family until the dissolution.[126]

Roland and the Vitré Family

Roland, although of the 'Breton' Dinan-Bécherel branch, was, as Jones points out, the wealthiest Dinan on the British side of the Channel, probably from estates which had belonged to his father.[127] Lands in Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire, and Dorset had been lost to the Crown in 1160-1. Most of Roland's estates (including Hartland) escheated to the king after the great rebellion of 1166-8,[128] although Roland consistently retained at least two estates, Ginge in Berkshire (held from 1157, and before this by his father) and Meon in Hampshire (held from 1160).

Roland died without children; his heir was Alain de Vitré (also known as Alain II de

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[125] PR 8 John, p. 226; Jones 1988, p. 86 n. 63. Jones points out that Josselin's daughters did briefly enjoy legal ownership of Hartland and Buckland Denham (1987, p. 26; Curia Regis Rolls, vol. 3, p. 318; Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars, vol. III, no. 1656).

[126] Oliver 1846, p. 205; Jones 1986, p. 224.

[127] Jones 1986, pp. 223-4.

[128] Appendix III. As Jones comments, "paradoxalement c'est au moment où ses [Roland's] terres furent confisquées pour rebellion contre Henri II en 1167-8 que nous avons sur elles le maximum d'informations" (1986, p. 224). Mortimer notes that estates in custody are better documented than those which are not (1994, p. 80).

Dinan or even Alain de Dinan-Vitré, as he here will be known),[129] his sister's son by Robert II de Vitré.[130] Alain took on the name and interests of Roland.[131] Vitré is just south of Dol/Dinan, and the Vitré family, like the Dinan family, was situated within the eastern Breton/Norman/Angevin marcher area.[132] Like the Dinans, the English Vitrés seem to have been concentrated in the southwest. However, while the Dinans were mostly connected with Devon, the Vitrés were chiefly located in Cornwall.

Robert I de Vitré, who came into prominence in the mid eleventh century, had two sons, Robert [II] and André [I].[133] These sons, and perhaps the father, seem to have held some lands in Cornwall: a Rob[ert] de Vitreio (probably Robert II de Vitré) appears in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I in the hundreds of Trigg and Pyder and a Gervase de Vitreio (perhaps a son of Robert I) was excused payment of Danegeld in Cornwall according to the

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[129] Alain is chiefly called Alain de Vitré in the Pipe Rolls from 1186-7 (PR 33 Henry II, p. 189). Alain is consistently so named in connection with Roland's estate at Ginge (PR 33 Henry II, p. 189; PR 34 Henry II, p. 143; PR 1 Richard I, p. 180; PR 2 Richard I, p. 31; PR 3 & 4 Richard I, pp. 160, 274; PR 5 Richard I, p. 128; PR 6 Richard I, p. 251) as well as with reference to a case of usurpation in Essex or Hertfordshire (PR 2 Richard I, p. 110; PR 3 & 4 Richard I, p. 28, 171; PR 5 Richard I, p. 4; PR 6 Richard I, p. 32). However, in connection with land in Northamptonshire (once unnamed and twice Roland's estate at Burton), he is named Alain de Dinan (PR 2 Richard I, p. 30; PR 10 Richard I, p. 105; Memoranda Roll, p. 46). In 1190 Alain is described both as Alain de Vitré and Alain de Dinan in the same Roll (PR 2 Richard I, pp. 30-31).

[130] Mémoires, vol. I, col. 664; Jones 1987, p. 16. See Genealogy.

[131] Hillion 1985, p. 140, n. 151.

[132] Jones 1988, p. 30. Tonnerre points to Vitré as an especially successful example of a *vicarius* which "parvint à constituer une puissante châtellenie" in the second half of the eleventh century; they seem to have become independent of the counts of Rennes, their previous overlords, by the later eleventh century (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987 pp. 51 and 153).

[133] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 152-3.

same document.[134] An *Andreas de Vitreio*, probably André I de Vitré, is mentioned in an early twelfth-century charter as holding a fief in Trigg, in Cornwall.[135]

Picken characterises the Vitrés in England as "landowners or custodians for the king of escheated estates in Cornwall until the thirteenth century."[136] Certainly there is a visible and sustained association between the Vitré family (or certain members of this family) and the county of Cornwall until the reign of John. However, Roland's heir, Alain de Dinan-Vitré, is nowhere associated with Cornish estates: these would seem to concern only his brother André [II] de Vitré.[137] Yet although this André II de Vitré possesses Cornish estates, he seems to operate in a mainly Breton context, ultimately to the detriment of his Cornish holdings. In this he shared the ultimate fate of his brother Alain, as well as that of another brother, Robert.[138] André II participated in the third Crusade with other Breton lords dispossessed by the revolts against Henry II,[139] and aided the Breton duchess Constance in the struggle for the rights of her and Geoffrey's son Arthur against Richard I and John.[140] A peace was made with

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[134] Magnum Rotulum, pp. 159-61. Robert [II] de Vitré proved very troublesome to duke Conan III, and in 1132 Conan was forced to seize the castle of Vitré, although Robert and his allies got it back (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 70-71).

[135] Picken 1986a, p. 61.

[136] Picken 1986a, p. 61.

[137] Jones 1990, p. 8, n. 32.

[138] Hillion also includes with Constance's allies against Richard [illegible] Robert [III] de Vitré, brother to André II and Alain de Dinan-Vitré (1985, p. 122). See also below, page 270.

[139] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 81. Entries in Pipe Rolls in the last years of Henry II's reign show an André de Vitré (very likely this same) disseized in Norfolk or Suffolk (PR 31 Henry II, p. 40; PR 32 Henry II, p. 65).

[140] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 98-99. Hillion names the lords of Rohan, Léon, Fougères, Vitré, Dol, Dinan, Mayenne, La Guerche, Lohéac, Châteaugiron, Montfort, among the Breton barons who fought against Richard I on behalf of Arthur and Constance; he notes that apart from the first two they were all from Haute Bretagne and all were related by marriage and

Richard, English lands were restored to the Breton lords,[141] but under John it fell apart, as Arthur threatened John's succession;[142] henceforth André II de Vitré was a trusted baron of the Capetian king Philip Augustus, to whom Arthur had turned for assistance.[143] During this time, lands in England (including Helstone, a manor in Trigg, in Cornwall) were granted to and then seized from an Andrew de Viteri, probably this André II de Vitré.[144]

A division between the estates and responsibilities of the two of the three sons of Roland de Dinan's sister Emma and Robert II de Vitré, Alain and André, is clearly visible.[145] Yet this division did not operate along the Channel. Both sons functioned in both

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blood, and all had vulnerable lands in England (1985, p. 120).

[141] The escheat of one or more unnamed Cornish estates of André de Vitré had been recorded in the Pipe Roll of 1197 (PR 9 Richard I, p. 3). An assize of 1201 in Cornwall describes André de Vitré as the chief lord ("capitalem dominum") of land in *Lanscutoc* (Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars, vol. II, no. 455).

[142] Hillion 1985, pp. 120-21.

[143] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 103. Later André II de Vitré and Alain count of Tréguier and Lamballe were the leaders of what Painter describes as "a strong francophile party" ranged against the custodian of the duchy, Gui de Thouars, the third husband of duchess Constance (Painter 1969, p. 7). André III de Vitré was subsequently married to Catherine, a sister of Alix, herself the daughter of Constance and Gui and ultimately the heiress to the duchy and wife of Pierre Mauclerc (Painter 1969, p. 8; Leguay and Martin 1982, p. 16

[144] The Pipe Roll for 1199 (as that for 1197; above, note 141) shows Cornish estates escheated from André de Vitré (PR 1 John, p. 184). In the Liberate Roll of 1201 the king commands the sheriff of Cornwall to restore to "dilecto nostro Andree de Viteri" the seisin of his lands which had been in the king's custody "ea occasione quod precipimus Britones dissaisiri" (Memoranda Roll, pp. 94-5); this was the year of Constance's death, and John was temporarily reconciled to various Bretons (Warren 1978, p. 73). By the time of Henry III, André [II? III?] had again lost lands in Cornwall (Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, vol. I, p. 407; Picken 1986a, p. 61). The appearance of a Walter de Dinan in Helstone in Trigg in the ministers' accounts of the earldom of Cornwall for 1296-97 is intriguing (see Appendix IV, note 30).

[145] In 1200 André de Vitré paid a fine to the king "pro rationabili parte quae eum contingit de terra quae partienda est inter ispum et fratrem suum" (Rotuli Normanniae, p. 40).

an English and a Breton context. André II was lord of the seigneurie of Vitré;[146] Alain was lord of Dinan sud.[147] The significant difference seems to be André's endowment with Vitré lands (in Cornwall and in Brittany) and his brother Alain's adoption of the Dinan possessions (again in both Brittany and England).[148] A third brother, Robert III de Vitré, is somewhat obscure, but seems to have interests in Devon and perhaps Cornwall as well as in Brittany.[149] He also seems to take an interest (strictly temporary) in some of Roland's English estates.[150]

Alain de Dinan-Vitré came into the possession of some of Roland's estates (most

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[146] Hillion 1985, p. 123. It is perhaps in this capacity that he, among other Breton barons, intervened on behalf of Roland de Dinan's foundation of Beaulieu (below, page 283).

Hillion also described Alain as a co-founder (with Roland) of the abbey of Beaulieu (1985, p. 122); the charter recording the foundation of the abbey mentions Alain as Roland's heir, and is made, in part, "pro salute Alani de Dinanno patris mei" (this is Alain de Dinan-Bécherel; Alain de Dinan-Vitré is here referred to as Alanus de Vitreio), but does not mention the participation of either Alain in the actual foundation.

[148] Jones seems to confuse Alain and André: his discussion of the English possessions of Roland's heir Alain concludes with the statement that the sheriff of Cornwall had Alain's lands in 1199 (1988, p. 90, n. 79). This refers to the entry in the Pipe Roll of 1199 (PR 1 John, p. 184), which, however, concerns *André*, whose Vitré Cornish history is attested elsewhere. Alain, as heir to the Dinan possessions, does not seem to have shared in the Vitré Cornish estates.

[149] In 1194 Robert acted as one of thirteen nobles as surety for the inheritance of Henry de Pomeray in Devonshire (PR 6 Richard I, p. 169). This same Roll includes an account of a fine paid by an Alexander de Vitré for joining with John during Richard's absence (PR 6 Richard I, p. 170); this Alexander is otherwise unknown, but may represent a brother of Alain, André, and Robert. A royal assize of 1201 in Launceston records an accusation against Robert de Vitré; in another assize of the same year (without geographical precision) Robert pleaded illness as an excuse for his non-appearance before the king's justiciars (*Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars*, vol. II, no. 225; vol. I, no. 3407). Robert was also involved in Breton affairs (Hillion 1985, p. 122) and was granted the castle of Langeais by duke Arthur.

[150] Robert involved himself with the estate at Burton (Northamptonshire), an inheritance from Roland de Dinan (below, note 153).

notably Ginge).[151] Others seem to have been lost, while yet others (notably Hartland and Buckland Denham, Harpford, and Nutwell) went to the line of Roland's cousin, Olivier of Dinham,[152] although, in the case of Hartland, this process is far from clear.[153] Roland's cousins Olivier of Dinham and Geoffroy II de Dinan (the former more than the latter) seem to have come into possession of Hartland soon after its escheat from Roland in 1168. In 1201 an "Alanus de Hertiland" was granted a licence to fortify his castle at Hartland.[154] This Alan, however, does not seem to be the same person as Alain de Dinan-Vitré, despite Jones's identification of these two as one.[155] Alan of Hartland was a significant supporter of John[156] and assisted John's overseas expeditions,[157] whereas Alain de Dinan-Vitré was

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[151] PR 33 Henry II, p. 189; PR 34 Henry II, p. 143; PR 1 Richard I, p. 180; PR 2 Richard I, pp. 30, 31, 110; PR 3 and 4 Richard I, pp. 28, 160, 171, 274; PR 5 Richard II, pp. 4, 128; PR 6 Richard I, p. 251; PR 7 Richard, p. 247; PR 8 Richard p. 247 (this is actually the Chancellor's Roll); PR 10 Richard I, p. 105. See above, note 129.

[152] Jones 1986, p. 224.

[153] The case of Burton, in Northamptonshire is also somewhat obscure: Alain held it in 1190 (PR 2 Richard I, p. 30), Robert [III?] de Vitré had it after this, as can be inferred from the notice that it had escheated from him by 1196 (PR 8 Richard, p. 191). Then in 1198 Alain once again owed a fine "pro vasto" in this county, which would seem to suggest Burton again (PR 10 Richard I, p. 105). In 1199 Alain appears in connection with Burton (apparently in connection with forest matters) in a fragmentary Memoranda Roll (Memoranda Roll, p. 46).

[154] Rotuli Chartarum, p. 103.

[155] Jones 1987, p. 22.

[156] Alan of Hartland, who first appears in the Pipe Rolls in 1195 (PR 7 Richard I, p. 47), held various significant administrative positions, mostly in Cornwall and Devon, but also elsewhere in England (PR 6 John, pp 40, 87, 255; PR 7 John, p. 1[illegible]1). Under Richard I Alan, who owed scutage for knights' fees in the Honour of Gloucester (PR 4 John, p. 282; PR 5 John, pp. 41, 43; PR 6 John, p. 231; PR 7 John, p. 104; PR 8 John, pp. 18-19), frequently administered escheated estates in Cornwall and Devon (PR 2 John, p. 221; PR 3 John, p. 188; PR 4 John, p. 67; PR 5 John, p. 80; PR 6 John, p. 38; PR 7 John, p. 2; PR 8 John, pp. 59, 145; PR 7 Richard I, p. 47; Memoranda Roll, p. 73; Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars, vol. II, nos. 457 and 576) in connection with William of Sainte-Mère-Eglise, one of two escheators under Richard I (William's area of responsibility covered the south of England: Appleby 1965, p. 141; DNB, vol. 21, pp. 364). Alan of Hartland's association with William extended beyond the possession of estates (PR

increasingly hostile to King Richard, and apparently died in 1197 or 1198, at any rate well before Alan of Hartland.[158] Alan of Hartland's possession of a castle at Hartland must be linked to his position as administer of escheated estates, although his epithet does suggest some deeper link with the area.

Roland's heir Alain de Dinan-Vitré became seneschal of Brittany after Raoul de Fougères (who himself succeeded Roland de Dinan in that office),[159] but although Alain is considered part of the Angevin administration, he was also "l'adversaire acharné" of Richard I at least by 1196.[160] In 1196 Richard invaded Brittany;[161] the Breton and French chroniclers disagree on the extent and success of Breton military opposition encountered by

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4 John, p. 169; PR 5 John, p. 82; PR 6 John, p. 39; PR 9 John, p. 52; PR 10 John, p. 168), and William seems to oversee Alan's affairs to a considerable degree (PR 8 John, p. 59). Alan's position continued after Richard's death: an assize of the early years of John's reign describes Alan as "keeper of escheats through William de Sancte Marie Ecclesia" (Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars, vol. II, no. 244).

[157] Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars, vol. II, nos. 135, 559; PR 6 John, p. 212.

[158] Chédeville 1986, p. 26. Alain de Dinan-Vitré appears for the last time in the Pipe Roll for 1198 (PR 10 Richard I, p. 105). See below, note 165, for Jones's probably erroneous contention that Alain de Dinan-Vitré survived to lose his lands during John's reign.

[159] Hillion 1985, p. 123. Tonnerre points out that we do not know exactly when Alain was seneschal of Brittany, but it was sometime after 1187 and by 1196 (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 106; Jones 1990, p. 8, n. 32). According to Le Patourel, Alain de Dinan-Vitré and Maurice de Craon were the next two seneschals of Brittany and served between 1187 and 1201, but it is not known in what order this occurred (1981, p. 106).

[160] Hillion 1985, p. 140 n. 151. Jones argues that the Breton seneschals (Roland de Dinan, Raoul de Fougères, Maurice de Craon) "appear to have been strong Angevin supporters;" Alain de Dinan-Vitré is the notable exception (1990, p. 8). It is not entirely clear who, king or Constance, selected Alain as seneschal of Brittany (Le Patourel 1981, p. 115).

[161] Hillion 1985, p. 119; for the various chroniclers who note the vehemence of Richard's campaign, see those cited in Hillion 1985, pp. 136-7, n. 114. The account of Guillaume le Breton (or Guillelmus Armoricus) is perhaps the most vivid (Œuvres de Rigord, vol. II, lines 147-56).

Richard.[162] One source, however, Guillaume le Breton's poem in praise of the Capetian king Philip Augustus, singles out Alain ("Alanus Brito Dinantes") as an especially vehement adversary of Richard at Philip's seige of Richard's Norman castle of Aumale.[163] According to Guillaume, Richard had unjustly taken Alain's inheritance; presumably this refers to Roland's lands in England.[164] While the Pipe Rolls do not show Alain de Dinan-Vitré's English lands escheating to the crown under Richard (as his brother's did), this was probably the case.[165] Certainly upon Alain's death this line's English rights were lost, and his daughter, Gervaise returned to an almost exclusively continental context.[166] Roland and his heirs' lordship of Dinan sud endured until 1283, when Jean I, duke of Brittany, obtained, through his son Pierre de Bretagne, Dinan sud and the castle of Lehon from the last of

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[162] Hillion 1985, pp. 119-20; Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 98.

[163] Œuvres de Rigord, vol. II, lines 168-257; Powicke 1961, p. 110. Morice (1750-56, vol. I, p. 122) and Chédeville (1986, p. 26) more or less follow Guilllaume's account, noting that Alain almost succeeded in killing Richard (Œuvres de Rigord, vol. II, lines 226-40). Some sources state that Alain died soon after this (Morice 1750-56, vol. I, p. 122).

[164] "Alanus/ Brito Dinantes, solum cui nuper avitum/ Richardi injuste abstulerat violentia regis;" Œuvres de Rigord, vol. II, lines 188-90.

[165] At Michaelmas 1196 Robert [III?] de Vitré had lost Burton to the Crown, but Alain's estate at Ginge was still listed among the "terris datis" (PR 8 Richard I, pp. 191, 247). In 1198 Alain owed a fine "pro vasto" in Northamptonshire (Burton?), and was again named in connection with Burton in a 1199 Memoranda Roll (PR Richard I, p. 105; Memoranda Roll, p. 46). Although the Pipe Rolls give present a rather haphazard record of the activities of the Exchequer, it is interesting to see no record of escheats from Alain de Dinan-Vitré, but some notices of escheats from his brothers, including an estate connected to Alain, which Alain later seems to possess (Burton). Jones states that Alain lost what he had of Roland's English lands in the "turbulent years of John's reign" (1986, pp. 222-23). Jones may be thinking of Alain's brother André de Vitré (above, note 148).

[166] Jones 1986, pp. 222-3. The third husband of Gervaise, Richard Marshal (Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 851, 865), was of English descent and was for a time earl of Pembroke, but spent much of his time in France (DNB, vol. 12, p. 1108). Gervaise and Richard had no children (DNB, vol. 12, p. 1110).

Roland's line, Henri III d'Avaugour.[167] In the view of at least the first generations of the Dinan-Vitré line, however, the twelfth-century Roland de Dinan was a significant *antecessor*: Gervaise de Dinan mentions him in this fashion at least once in her donations to Breton religious foundations.[168]

Anglo-Breton Dinans after the Twelfth Century

One might expect the Dinans to separate into chiefly 'English' and 'Breton' branches during the several centuries following their establishment across the Channel. This is true to an extent, but, as the example of Hartland shows, it is clear that various branches separated by distance of both geography and blood could interest themselves in the business of their relatives across the Channel.

During Roland's lifetime his cousin Olivier of Dinham was establishing a much more 'English' branch of the Dinan family. The interests of the family of the second son of the Breton Olivier II de Dinan (another Olivier and here referred to as Olivier of Dinham) were to be vested chiefly in Britain, and mostly in the southwest. These Dinhams were well entrenched among the Cornish and Devonshire gentry to 1501.[169] Olivier of Dinham, having

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[167] Chédeville 1986, p. 29; Métayer 1986, pp. 217-18; Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 202. Henri III's sister, Jeanne, married Geoffroy IV, of the Dinan-Montafilant branch (Dunoyer de Segonzac 1986, p. 241); their son was named Roland, most certainly not after Jeanne's great-great-great-grandfather, Henry II's justiciar Roland de Dinan, but after the numerous Rolands in the Dinan-Montafilant line (see Appendix IV).

[168] Roland de Dinan was invoked by name as *antecessor* in a grant of 1233 (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 851); in two other charters of his descendants only unnamed *antecessores* are mentioned (Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 865 and 893-4). The husband of Gervaise, Juhel de Mayenne, intervened in a conflict over a grant originally made to the priory of Bécherel by Roland, but stopped short of describing Roland as his *antecessor* (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 839).

[169] Jones 1986, p. 222; Jones 1987, *passim*. The Cornish estates of the Dinham family were initially acquired by purchase: in the thirteenth century two Cornish manors, Bodardle and

received some of Roland's English possessions, between 1189 and 1199 concluded an agreement with his nephew, Olivier III de Dinan (himself lord of Dinan nord), which separated the lands of Olivier III's father Geoffroy II into "all lands ... which my father held in Brittany" to be retained by the nephew, Olivier III, and "all lands ... which my father held in England" to he held by the uncle, Olivier of Dinham.[170] This agreement, seemingly yet another decisive splitting of family interest along the Channel,[171] only concerned, however, the possessions of Geoffroy II, and didn't involve the Breton lands of Geoffroy II's brother Alain de Dinan-Bécherel. The southern portion of Dinan itself, for example, passed to Roland and from him to his heir Alain de Dinan-Vitré. Yet the agreement must have significantly contributed to the establishment of the family of Olivier of Dinham as an English (and specifically west-country) family.[172]

However, according to Chédeville, another accord, concluded c. 1200, limited the rights of an Olivier de Dinan and his family over the priory of La-Madelaine-du-Pont at

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Cardinham, were bought from Isolda de Cardinham (Jones 1987, pp. 32, 48). The latter place-name does not incorporate the family name Dinan but consists of *ker* 'fort' and *dinan*, 'fort' (Padel 1988a, p. 65); it obviously shares the same root as the fortress of Dinan from which the family gained its name.

[170] "de tota terra quam pater meus Galfridus de Dynham tenuit in Britannia et in Anglia scilicet quod tota terra quam predictus Galfridus pater meus tenuit in Britanniam quieta remanebit imperpetuum mihi et heredibus meis, tota vero terra quam idem pater meus tenuit in Anglia quieta remanebit imperpetuum predicto Olivero avunculo meo et heredibus suis." This is from a Dinham family cartulary of the fifteenth century, as quoted by Jones (BL Ms. Add. 34792 A, f. 19v; Jones 1988, p. 85, n. 61). Chope does not seem to have known of this charter, as he states that "[Geoffroy II] died ... leaving no issue" (1940, p. 28).

[171] Jones laudably characterises the agreement more loosely: "décision qui permit aux deux moitiés de la famille, de part et de l'autre de la Manche, d'avoir leurs coudées franches" (Jones 1986, p. 226; also Jones 1987, p. 28).

[172] See, for example, the histories of the 'Dynham' family given by Chope (1918, pp. 431-492 and 1940, pp. 26-37).

Dinan in Brittany.[173] This Olivier would seem to be Olivier III de Dinan,[174] although at this point it is easy to confuse Olivier of Dinham uncle with Olivier III nephew.[175] It seems at least possible that the 'English' family of Olivier of Dinham kept some of their Breton rights, especially in view of the lack of heirs of Olivier of Dinan's nephew (and recipient of their common ancestor's Breton lands) Olivier III,[176] although some of Olivier III's estates went to his brother, Roland I de Dinan-Montafilant. Certainly, at least for practical reasons, the involvement of the English Dinham family with the French priory of Marmoutier concerning the manors of Harpford and Nutwell (themselves used to support the priory of Saint-Malo at Dinan)[177] extended well into the thirteenth century.[178]

The granting, by Henry III, of lands in England to various Breton barons (including a Dinan-Montafilant) for services rendered in 1230 also shows a cross-Channel Anglo-Breton

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[173] Chédeville 1986, p. 27; Mémoires, vol. I, col. 731.

[174] The agreement describes, for example, very local rights and jurisdictions in the area around the priory and mentions, for example, "burgensem Oliverii;" this would seem to indicate a very local lord (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 731) and Olivier of Dinham does not seem to have been lord of Dinan, while Olivier III certainly was (Jones 1987, p. 16). However, as the date of the transaction (taken, Morice states, from the Cartulary of Saint-Florent) is given as 1198, this could be before Olivier III definitively got all Breton lands and rights from Olivier of Dinham. The mention of Olivier's 'family' (Olivier III died without issue; Dunoyer de Segonzac 1986, p. 240) is not illuminating, for the charter mentions only "fratres & sorores ejus."

[175] Certainly Chédeville implies that this Olivier is the Olivier who revolted with Roland and the other Breton barons in 1167-8, and describes this Olivier as the son of Olivier II; he seems to be indicating Olivier of Dinham and not the Breton Olivier III, the grandson of Olivier II (Chédeville 1986, pp. 26-27).

[176] Dunoyer de Segonzac 1986, p. 240.

[177] Jones 1987, p. 20.

[178] In 1268 Oliver of Dinham (the great-great grandson of the first Olivier of Dinham) purchased the interest in Harpford and Nutwell from Marmoutier (Jones 1987, p. 28; Mémoires, vol. I, col. 1014). This same Oliver in this year also purchased the Cornish manors of Cardinham and Bodardle (see above, note 169).

consciousness, albeit perhaps temporary and limited.[179] Even after the separation of the Angevin kings from many of their continental possessions and the loss of Brittany, the possibility of significant ties between Breton lords and England was not inconceivable. Although the alliance between the Breton duke Pierre Mauclerc and Henry III was clearly politically expedient, the participation of almost all major Breton barons on behalf of the alliance must indicate some remaining sense that Brittany and England remain a community of interest; here the Honour of Richmond was clearly significant, although, arguably, not paramount.[180]

Jones's assessment of the Dinans in England points to their modest success, and yet their widespread and enduring effect. He concludes: "In dividing their lands between England and Brittany during the years of 1190, the Dinans anticipated the breakup of the Angevin empire during the reign of John."[181] According to Jones, the English and Breton branches separated and conducted their affairs separately.[182] Yet a decisive or even clear break is difficult to discern, and while the reigns of Henry II, Richard I, and John would seem to be

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[179] Appendix IV.

[180] As Jean-Pierre Leguay notes, "Richemont est un moyen de pression idéal pour les Anglais et la porte ouverte à toutes les compromissions présentes et à venir" (Leguay and Martin 1982, p. 31); Jeulin noted Richmond's diplomatic and political significance in the Breton duke's balancing of French and English interests and narrated at some length the vicissitudes of Pierre Mauclerc's career as Count of Richmond (1935, pp. 274-5, and 281-4).

[181] Jones 1986, p. 229. Jones's expanded and bilingual version of this article mirrors this conclusion, and Métayer's facing-page translation quotes Jones's own earlier French version (1987, pp. 44-5).

[182] Jones 1986, p. 230. Jones again retains this wording for his later book; he qualifies this with "largely" but the French translation is still that of the 1985 article (1987, pp. 44-5).

significant progressions towards such a division.[183] Brittany's attitude towards England and France would seem to be ambiguous and even ambivalent;[184] that of Bretons in England is similarly complex.

The Background of 1167-8

The roots of this Breton rebellion should perhaps be sought in the dispute over the succession of the duchy after the death of Conan III. In the 1130s Conan III's daughter Berthe married Alain [III] le Noir, count of Richmond;[185] this was an attempt to reconcile the rift between the ducal and Penthièvre branches of this family.[186] Berthe and Alain had one son, Conan IV. However, Berthe's marriage, after Alain's death in 1146, to vicomte Eudon II de Porhoët[187] (who possibly had possessions in England)[188] and Conan III's

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[183] Jones at times extends this period of Anglo-Breton commonality. In 1991 he wrote, "there is no doubt that some Bretons in England, like the Aubigny, Dinan, and Zouche families, still retained active links with their relatives in Brittany even after Henry II's accession" (in Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 183); in an article which originally appeared in 1981 he described these families and their concerns as extending well into the thirteenth (and, even, fourteenth) centuries (1988, p. 86, n. 65). Ultimately, Jones restates and reemphasises the shared history of the two sides of the Channel (1988, p. 93).

[184] While it is clearly anachronistic to cite Guillaume de Saint-André, the fourteenth-century biographer of Duke Jean IV in this respect, his argument that Bretons were neither French nor English (neither of whom are described in completely complimentary terms) is relevant not for its "incipient nationalism" but for its acknowledgement that Brittany forms an area between England and France, is at times subject to each (or both) and at times depends on each (Jones 1988, p. 283).

[185] This is the Alain of the 1140 charter who was briefly earl of Cornwall (above, page 255).

[186] Keats-Rohan 1992, p. 53; Keats-Rohan notes that "the benefits of this marriage--which was unhappy--proved ephemeral (witness the career of Conan IV), and it did not achieve any *rapprochement* between the two hostile groups of Bretons in England before the death of Alan of Richmond [Alain III le noir] in 1146."

[187] Porhoët, "une des plus vastes seigneuries de Bretagne" (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 85), is also the region in which Saint-Méen is located (see above, note 6). As noted above

disinheriting of his son Hoel, "créent," Tonnerre comments, "une situation lourde de conflits à venir."[189] Eudon II and various Breton barons were to rise frequently against Conan IV, Henry II, and Geoffroy (the dukes or rulers of Brittany); such fractiousness had always been a feature of the Breton peninsula.

At Conan III's death in 1148, Berthe's husband presided over Conan IV's minority and claimed the duchy for Berthe.[190] This was not immediately unpopular and a 'resigned' Hoël raised himself up as a count in Nantes.[191] However, upon Conan IV's attainment of his majority, trouble began; at this moment of crisis Henry II intervened. At first most of the major Breton barons stayed with Eudon II, and Conan fled to England. There he was well received by Henry II, who bestowed upon him his father's Honour of Richmond; this English

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(note 71), Eudon or Eudes II of Porhoët is here called Eudon order to distinguish him from another Breton baron, Eudes of Penthièvre; nevertheless, both Warren (1973, figure 5) and the editors of John of Salisbury's letters (The Letters of John of Salisbury. Volume Two, p. 137, n. 8) have confused the two. Eudon II (who must be distinguished from his like-named predecessor) was of a vicomtal family of Rennes; the first known member of this family, which later produced a branch named Rohan, was Guithénoc (Wethenek) (Guillotel 1979a, p. 82; Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 121). Yvonig Gicquel shows a direct family relationship between this Guithénoc and the comital (and ducal) family of Rennes, but this remains unproven (1986, p. 48; see Jones 1988, p. 28).

[188] Tonnerre states that Eudon I (whose name he here spells Eudes as opposed to Eudon elsewhere and in the index) received "biens fonciers" in England under Henry I (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 158); the only evidence of this family in England during Henry I's reign is the appearance of his son Geoffroy (whose title here is *vicomes de Pourehoi*) under Devonshire in the Pipe Roll of Henry I (PR Henry I, p. 155). This Geoffroy is Eudon's father.

[189] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 72. According to Jones "for unknown reasons" (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 194) Hoël, raised as legitimate (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 4), was disenfranchised at Conan's death.

[190] For much of what follows in this section, see Tonnerre in Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 84-88 and Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, pp. 3-8.

[191] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 4.

fief assured Conan of revenue.[192] Thus could Conan attempt to return to Brittany, but for this he also had to become a vassal of Henry II.[193] Henry then, according to Tonnerre with a view to gaining Brittany, offered extensive English fiefs to various Breton barons (the lord of Fougères, for example) for their support of Conan. By 1156, Conan was successful in Brittany, and Eudon II sought the protection of the Capetian king Louis VII.

Tonnerre describes Conan IV on his accession as "un duc au pouvoir affaibli."[194] The new duke, for example, had had to cede Nantes and Avranches to Henry II. Conan married Marguerite of Scotland, who bore the future duchess Constance. The Breton barons, however, were becoming restive: Conan had already enlarged his duchy at the expense of a baron on the side of Eudon II, Conan's uncle Henri; he then despoiled Raoul de Fougères, according to Tonnerre at the instigation of Henry II.

Pocquet du Haut-Jussé points to the strategic importance to four very strong fortresses on the Rance "couvrant Rennes et verrouillant l'entrée de la Basse-Bretagne:" Vitré, Fougères, Dol-Combour, and Dinan. The lords of these were related through blood and marriage. Jean [II] of Dol had been the sole Breton lord to remain on the side of Eudon II, even after Eudon

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[192] Jones phrases it not so that Henry gives Conan IV Richmond, but so that Henry *confirms* Conan's succession to it (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 194). Certainly Richmond had been held by Conan's father.

[193] Le Patourel 1981, p. 100; Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 86-7: Tonnerre comments that Henry II played upon ("joutant") a confusion between the Honour of Richmond and the Breton duchy, both formerly held by different branches of the ducal family, but both held by Conan. Le Patourel, however, notes that the Honour of Richmond was in fact quite important to Conan IV: from 1156 to 1166 (and perhaps to his death) Conan seems to have spent as much time in his English earldom as in his Breton duchy, and described himself as *Dux* (or *Comes*) *Britanniae et Comes Richemondie* (Le Patourel 1981, p. 101). Jeulin notes Conan's "pusillanime" character concerning Richmond and Henry II, but stresses the considerable monetary importance of Richmond to Conan (1935, p. 275).

[194] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 86.

lost decisively;[195] he confided his land and daughter to Raoul of Fougères and died in June 1162. Raoul had been an early ally of Conan, and his position was strong (too strong, comments Tonnerre, now that he had Fougères and Dol). Henry obtained Dol from Raoul,[196] but in early 1164 Raoul led a group of Bretons in rebellion. These Bretons included Eudon II of Porhoët, Henri de Penthièvre (Conan IV's uncle) and Hervé of Léon;[197] the position of the lords of Dinan and Vitré is unknown. Henry, busy first with a Welsh campaign and then the Becket affair, sent the constable of Normandy to Brittany. He took Combour, but could not make significant progress into Brittany; then the Breton rebels joined up with Potevin rebels.

In 1166 Henry arrived in Brittany and destroyed the fortress at Fougères. He engaged his son to Conan's daughter, obtained the abdication of Conan, and at Rennes took over the duchy in the name of the minors.[198] Conan slunk off to Guingamp, taken from Henri de Penthièvre, and many Breton barons swore homage to Henry II at Thouars;[199] among Henry's newly loyal breton barons was Eudon II de Porhoët.[200]

The Breton barons were, as usual, far from unanimous, and Léon was, as usual, particularly troublesome. In 1167 Henry was again in Brittany, this time for a campaign

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[195] The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, pp. 190-91.

[196] This was done either by pressure (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 87) or by armed force (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 7).

[197] During Conan IV's minority these barons had been unhampered by ducal authority (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 194); Léon was for much of the early and central Middle Ages beyond ducal control (Guillotel 1971, p. 46).

[198] Eyton 1878, p. 97; Le Patourel 1981, p. 102.

[199] Eyton 1878, p. 97; Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 88; Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 9.

[200] The Letters of John of Salisbury. Volume Two, p. 137 (letter 173).

against Léon. Eudon II de Porhoët, having married into the comital family of Léon, was again ranged on the side against Henry. The campaign was particularly destructive[201] and both Guihomarc'h of Léon and Eudon II were forced to give hostages to Henry.[202] Eudon II, according to Tonnerre in a placatory gesture to the Breton nobles, was called to Henry's court to make a public oath of fidelity, but refused.[203] In early 1168, then, Henry departed on yet another expedition to Brittany. Here, for the first time, the participation of the lords of Dinan is mentioned.

Roland de Dinan and the Rebellion of 1167-8

The career of this the sole son of Alain de Dinan-Bécherel, Roland de Dinan, is typically cross-Channel. Although well-established as an English landholder,[204] his Breton affairs were also important (perhaps more so than his English affairs). He received the southern part of the city of Dinan from his father as well as strongholds of nearby Lehon and Bécherel.[205] Roland was included among the Breton barons to whom were sent copies of the

[201] Jones 1988, p. 31.

[202] The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, p. 232.

[203] The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, pp. 236-7. Tonnerre views Eudon II as encouraged his refusal by the French king (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 89), but after the rebellion "many weighty complaints" were brought against Henry by Breton barons, specifically Eudon II of Porhoët and Roland de Dinan (below, note 223).

[204] Above, page 266.

[205] Métayer 1986, p. 217. Robert de Torigny's account of Henry II's campaign of 1167-8 against the Breton rebels shows Roland to have had castles at Lehon, Bécherel and Dinan (Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, p. 237; Jones 1988, p. 31). Roland as lord of Bécherel, donated a mill to the Breton abbey of Boquen in 1148 (Anciens Évêchés, vol. III, no. I).

text known as the *Assize* of Duke Geoffroy.[206] This legislation concerned the inheritance of vast estates, specifically baronies and knights' fiefs.[207] Roland's inclusion among these barons shows his status in Brittany.[208]

Roland's participation can also be seen in the affairs of Breton churches. Roland made donations to Breton and Continental abbeys and priories.[209] He founded the Breton abbey of Beaulieu, confirming to the monks "whatever they hold from me or my subjects in Brittany and in England."[210] This Augustinian house is the subject of several rare records illustrating the involvement of Roland (in company with other Breton barons and even Duke Geoffroy) in its affairs. Around the time of its foundation, perhaps immediately after, the abbot and convent of Saint-Melaine de Rennes claimed the church of Pleumaudan, which had been given to Beaulieu by the bishop of Saint-Malo. According to the *compositio* preserved at Saint-Melaine, Duke Geoffroy, Roland de Dinan, André de Vitré, and 'other barons' intervened, and in return for a donation from Roland Saint-Melaine abandoned its claims to the church.[211]

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[206] That sent to Roland de Dinan is reproduced by Morice (Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 705-7), and Planiol includes an early French translation of it (1887, pp. 123-4 and p. 123, n. 3).

[207] Planiol describes baronies as "de grandes terres ... comprenant ordinairement plusieurs châteaux ou sièges de chevalerie" (1887, pp. 150-1).

[208] Other barons included André [II?] de Vitré, Alain de Rohan, Eudon II de Porhoët. Jacques and Alain de Châteaugiron, Guihomarc'h de Léon, and the unnamed lord of Châteaubriant (Planiol 1887, p. 121, n. 4; Mémoires, vol. I, col. 705).

[209] Roland had made significant donations to the priories of Bécherel and Lehon (Saint-Magloire de Lehon), and the abbey of Bonrepos, as well as to Marmoutier in Touraine (Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 664, 839, 851, 865).

[210] Mémoires, vol. I, col. 663: "Concedo eis & confirmo quidquid habent in Britannia & Anglia ex donatione mea & subditorum meorum." Bartholomew Hauréau dates this to *c.* 1170 (1856, col. 1031). See also Métayer 1986, p. 217; de Trémigon and Andrejewski 1983, p. 331.

[211] Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 700-701; Hauréau 1856, col. 774.

However, Roland is perhaps best known in his Breton context first as one of the barons who rebelled against Henry II in 1167-8 and later as Henry's Breton justiciar. During Eudon II's resistance Roland's role was uncertain until 1168, although Tonnerre dates Roland's opposition to Henry from 1160.[212] Roland may well have been in sympathy with the rebellious barons for much of this time, but there is no evidence of any overt action.[213] His participation only appears at the end of this particular period of rebellion; by this time several previously rebellious barons were not participating.[214] Not only Roland, but his cousin Olivier rebelled, although it is difficult to establish which cousin Olivier is intended.[215] Roland has both a first cousin, Olivier of Dinham (the son of Olivier II de Dinan) and a first cousin once removed, Olivier III de Dinan (son of Roland's first cousin Geoffroy II de Dinan). Olivier III de Dinan would in many ways be the logical candidate, as he was then lord of Dinan nord (as Roland was lord of Dinan sud); the family lost this lordship to Henry II in 1169 or 1170.[216] The sole detailed contemporary account of the

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[212] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 108; see also Le Patourel 1981, p. 112.

[213] See The Letters of John of Salisbury. Volume Two, p. 137 (letter 173), dated July 1166: "They say too that [Raoul of Fougères] has made a treaty of alliance with all the most powerful Breton leaders, excepting count [Eudon II of Porhoët]."

[214] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé describes it as Eudon II's "résistance tardive" (1946, p. 9). Those not involved in 1167-8 include Raoul de Fougères, Robert (II? III?) de Vitré, and Alain de Rohan, this latter a relative of Eudon (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 9).

[215] Grosjean ("Vies," p. 179, n. 1), and Pocquet du Haut-Jussé (1946, p. 9) merely describe the two as cousins.

[216] Jones 1987, p. 16; Métayer 1986, pp. 217-18 (Métayer, however, admits some genealogical confusion); La Borderie, vol. III, pp. 274-5. Henry II then granted Dinan nord to Duchess Constance. Chédeville ascribes the loss of Dinan nord to the rebellion, but describes the Olivier rebel as the other Olivier, the son of Olivier II de Dinan (1986, p. 26). Jones (1988, p. 88) and Chope (1940, pp. 26-7) describe the Olivier rebel as the same as the Olivier who founded Hartland with Geoffroy--this also suggests Olivier of Dinham.

rebellion, Robert de Torigny's *Chronicle*, describes Roland's ally Olivier as the son of Olivier de Dinan,[217] that is, Olivier of Dinham. It is of course possible, even likely, that both Oliviers, uncle and nephew, participated. It is also possible that Olivier of Dinham decided to turn his attention chiefly to England (tc Roland's properties and Hartland) only after the rebellion. Certainly the rebellion took place long before the agreement giving the elder Olivier preeminence in England and the younger Olivier preeminence in Brittany.[218]

It is clear that Roland was involved in the 1168 conflict: Robert de Torigny mentions Roland and his fortresses.[219] Roland's castle at Bécherel was besieged and captured by Henry's forces; Eudon II's castles at Josselin and Auray shared this fate.[220] Henry did not take Lehon or Dinan itself, but ravaged the region, sparing only the monastery of Saint-Magloire at Lehon.[221] At the end of June 1168 Henry went to meet the French king, Louis VII, at La Ferté-Bernard, hoping to gain Louis's recognition of his authority over Brittany.[222] However, Breton barons made many complaints against Henry and interrupted the treaties.[223] By 1169 peace was made between Henry and Louis: the homage of Brittany was to be paid by Geoffroy, Henry II's youngest son, to Henry the Younger, Henry's eldest

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[217] The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni, p. 236. The *Draco Normannicus*, which includes an account (albeit vague) of these events, names only a Roland as playing a prominent part in this rebellion (see below, note 255). This Roland is almost certainly intended to represent Roland de Dinan (Shopkow 1984, p. 494, n. 108).

[218] See above, page 275.

[219] The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, pp. 236-7; Jones 1988, p. 31.

[220] Eyton 1878, pp. 113-15.

[221] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 9: Jones 1988, p. 31; The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, pp. 236-7. Saint-Magloire, it should be noted, is the relic thief's first stop in Brittany.

[222] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 89.

[223] The Letters of John of Salisbury. Volume Two, p. 603 (letter 279).

son, who was to pay this same homage to Louis.[224] The Breton barons were pardoned, and on Christmas day, 1169 Geoffroy II Plantagenet, in the presence of his father, received the homage of the Breton lords at Nantes.[225] In the summer of 1169 Geoffroy was at Rennes for his "réception solennelle;" after this he bore the title *Dux* or *Comes Britannie* and *Comes Richemondie*,[226] although Conan IV seems still to have exercised some authority over Richmond.[227]

Roland and Breton Rebellions after 1169

Léon was constantly troublesome, but at the death of Conan IV in 1171 new unrest broke out elsewhere: Eudon II (who had been disseised and had gone over to Louis after 1169) revolted again, but was crushed.[228] In 1173 yet another rebellion broke out in Brittany (and elsewhere in the Angevin empire) with Henry the Younger's revolt. Eudon II again opposed Henry II, and Raoul de Fougères, the lords of Bas-Maine and Basse-Normandie and the count of Chester in England also joined the rebellion.[229] Tonnerre points out that this very serious crisis (not only in Brittany, but throughout the Angevin empire) differed, in two significant ways, from previous revolts affecting Brittany: first, it involved Haute Bretagne more than Basse Bretagne; and second, the number of Breton barons involved was not great,

[224] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 10.

[225] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 90; Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 197

[226] Le Patourel 1981, p. 102; The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni, p. 242.

[227] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 91; Le Patourel 1981, p. 102, n. 19. Jeulin argues that Conan kept Richmond until his death, and that after this Henry II administered it until 1183, at which time Constance seems to have taken over its direct administration (1935, p. 277).

[228] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 10; Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 91.

[229] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 11; The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, pp. 259-60.

but those who did rebel held castles of great strategic significance.[230]

During this period Roland de Dinan seems to have been close to Henry II: according to Robert de Torigny, in 1173 Roland de Dinan in the presence of Henry made his nephew, Alain, the son of Robert II de Vitré, his heir.[231] Roland's loyalty during 1173 marked the beginning of a brief but apparently consistent career in Angevin administration. The first seneschal of Brittany had been William fitz Hamon; after William's death in 1172 there seems to have been no such officer until Roland de Dinan was sent as *procurator* to Brittany with Geoffroy in 1175.[232] Roland's title was *justiciar*, which seems to have been equivalent to seneschal; the seneschal or justiciar exercised, as Le Patourel points out, a military, judiciary, administrative, and probably financial office.[233] Obviously, for whatever reason, Roland was deemed to be acceptable both to Henry II and to the Bretons (or to a sufficient number of Bretons). After Roland's death soon after 1182, Raoul de Fougères was appointed seneschal, perhaps by Henry II or by Henry and Geoffroy.[234] Le Patourel points out that both Roland and Raoul were important Breton barons, with significant Breton and English (and Norman) estates. Raoul, it should be noted, had rebelled even more frequently than

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[230] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1946, p. 91.

[231] The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, p. 261.

[232] Le Patourel 1981, pp. 105-6; see below, page 288.

[233] Le Patourel 1981, pp. 106-7. The seneschal of the duchy seems to have been analogous to the grand justiciar of England and seneschals of Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine; regional seneschals approximated the functions of Norman bailiff and English sheriffs (Le Patourel 1981, p. 111). Pocquet du Haut-Jussé differentiates the terms seneschal and justiciar, noting that under the improved Angevin administration, the seneschal became a justiciar (1946, p. 22). Here the terms are used interchangeably, with the fullest range of functions being understood in either case.

[234] Le Patourel 1981, p. 106; Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 94.

Roland, and had been disseised of his English estates in consequence. Roland and Raoul, Le Patourel concludes, were too important in Brittany to be neglected by Henry II, but their English estates gave Henry an opportunity to control them if necessary.[235] Significantly, the possession of English estates did not hinder either from rebellion; however, neither rebelled against the Angevin king once each had been incorporated into the Angevin administration as seneschal or justiciar.

Roland, Henry, and Geoffroy II Plantagenet, Duke of Brittany

The last great revolt of the Breton aristocracy (although there were to be numerous local revolts), characterised by Tonnerre as a rejection of Henry's personal rule, was quelled in 1174.[236] At the settlement of 1174, Geoffroy was to get half of the revenue of Brittany and, in 1175, was made ruler of Brittany under the guidance of Roland de Dinan.[237] The events of 1175 are suggestive: Henry sent Geoffroy to Brittany to regain castles lost to the revolt; it was at this point that Roland was 'assigned' (as Le Patourel stresses) as *procurator* to Geoffroy (or, as Le Patourel notes, strictly speaking, to Henry).[238] Thus Roland carried

[235] Le Patourel 1981, pp. 111-13. Jones, citing the case of Roland de Dinan, points out that Henry's confiscation of lands of rebellious Breton lords from 1166 to 1173 were mostly temporary and clearly expedient (1988, p. 90, and n. 79).

[236] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 92.

[237] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 11.

[238] Le Patourel 1981, p. 106 and n. 38: "'Rex misit ... Gaufridum, filium suum, comitem Britannie, in Britanniam, assignans ei Rollandum de Dinam, ut esset procurator terrae suae,' [The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, p. 267]. Dans l'interprétation stricte, 'terrae suae' doit être 'la terre d'Henri' et non pas celle de Geoffroi." Robert records the results slightly differently, however: "Gaufridus, dux Britannae, ea quae comes Eudo habebat de dominio suo, scilicet Venetum, Ploasmel, Aurai, medietatem Cornubiae, revocavit in ditionem suam" (The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, p. 267). Roger de Hoveden, in his *Gesta Henrici secundi*, omits any mention of Roland de Dinan in his account of the campaign (Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol.

out a military campaign in Geoffroy's name; Le Patourel further notes that as Geoffroy was only seventeen at the time, the success of this campaign can be attributed chiefly to Roland.[239] It seems likely that Geoffroy's authority over Brittany was nothing more than nominal before his marriage to the duchess Constance in 1181. Henry was to govern Brittany through his officers from 1171 to 1181; he also seems to have directly controlled the Honour of Richmond, which rendered its revenues to the Exchequer until 1183.[240] Roland, in addition to his military services, in effect governed the duchy for Henry until Geoffroy's marriage in 1181; even after the marriage it seems that Geoffroy spent little time in Brittany.[241]

By all accounts Geoffroy resented his subordinate position and attempted to exercise some autonomy vis-a-vis his father in Brittany and elsewhere: indeed, Geoffroy died in 1186 while at the court of the Capetian kings of France plotting against his father and brother.[242] According to Robert de Torigny (under 1182) "magna discordia" erupted between Henry and his sons (not just Geoffroy) and extended into Breton affairs; ultimately Geoffroy burned Roland's castle at Bécherel.[243] The burning of Bécherel has been variously interpreted: Jones implies that the burning of both Rennes and Bécherel were accomplished by Henry as part of a campaign against Breton rebels; Chédeville seems to agree with this view of this

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I, pp. 83, 101).

[239] Le Patourel 1981, p. 107, n. 43.

[240] Le Patourel 1981, p. 101, n. 9, and pp. 103-4. Jeulin notes that in the Pipe Rolls the Honour is called 'the honour of Count Conan' (1935, p. 277).

[241] Le Patourel 1981, pp. 104-5; Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 93.

[242] Hillion 1985, p. 112.

[243] below, note 247.

action as part of a general Breton "insecurité."[244] Tonnerre presents Geoffroy's burning of Bécherel as a more or less isolated example of Geoffroy's hostility towards Roland; La Borderie sees it as a more or less isolated example of Geoffroy's hostility towards Henry.[245] Yet the account of Robert de Torigny, the only chronicler of Henry II to give an account of the Breton campaign of 1182-3,[246] strongly implies that Henry took Rennes against Geoffroy (as part of a larger struggle with his sons), and that Geoffroy's subsequent actions (including the burning of Bécherel) were directed against Henry.[247] Moreover, William Hunt has argued that the burning of Rennes by Henry and then of Bécherel by Geoffroy occurred not in 1182 (as Robert de Torigni would have it) but in 1183, after Henry the Younger's death; this plausible emendation would support the interpretation of these events as the final stages of a struggle between Geoffroy and Henry rather than between the Angevins (Henry and Geoffroy) and Bretons.[248] It is significant in this context that although Geoffroy gained

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[244] Jones 1988, p. 31; Chédeville 1986, p. 26.

[245] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 94; La Borderie 1905-14, vol. III, p. 281.

[246] Shopkow notes the increased attention paid to Brittany in the later years of Robert's chronicle (1984, p. 422). Yet the inclusion of this episode belies her claim that Robert preferred not to speak of the rebellions of Henry's sons near the end of his life (1984, pp. 440-1).

[247] The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni, p. 302: "Hoc etiam anno magna discordia facta est inter regem et filios suos, propter castellum Clarae Vallis, quod erat de feudo Andegavensi; et Richardus, comes Pictavensis, latenter firmaverat illud, et adhuc discordia perseverat inter patrem et filios, propter eadem causam.

Rex Henricus senior misit exercitum in Britanniam, et obsederunt turrem Redonensem, et ceperunt, et combustam reaedificaverunt et muniverunt. Postea comes Britanniae magnam partem ipsius civitas et abbatiam Sancti Georgii combussit, et Becherel, castrum Rollandi de Dinam."

If one ignores the first passage quoted, one might easily see the burning of Bécherel in isolation from other Breton affairs, or the Breton campaign in isolation from greater Angevin concerns.

[248] DNB, vol. 7, p. 1016. Robert's account of the "magna discordia" is explicitly dated to "hoc ... anno [1182]", but the subsequent events are less securely located (The Chronicle of

control over Brittany with his marriage to Constance in 1181, the revenues of the Honour of Richmond, usually attached to the ducal position, continued to come to Henry and the Exchequer until 1183.[249]

Geoffroy's filial concerns not surprisingly affected his Breton dominions, and Roland seems to have been a particular target for his actions against his father. Yet these internal Angevin struggles, as carried out in Brittany, took on a distinctive Breton aspect. Geoffroy's emphasis on his position as duke of Brittany was useful in two complementary ways: he could not only impress and manipulate the Breton barons, but also argue against his father's intervention with greater apparent legitimacy. Subsequent events suggest that the second of these purposes may have been paramount. Yannick Hillion's view of Geoffroy's ambitions concerning Anjou after 1183, as presented by Geoffroy as part of a continuing Breton struggle to obtain and keep this marcher region, if accurate, suggests that Geoffroy was not unaware of the utility of his peculiar Breton position against his father's control.[250]

Yet defiance of Henry II certainly served a clear purpose for Geoffroy among the Bretons themselves, and this manipulation of Breton opinion has often been viewed as Geoffroy's primary purpose. Tonnerre, for example, argues that the Breton barons ultimately endorsed Geoffroy as a satisfactory Breton duke presiding over a unified Brittany and by *c.* 1185 had admitted Geoffroy's governance mainly as that of someone other than Henry II.[251]

Robert de Torigni, p. 302). Howlett notes that repetitions and errors occur as the account in Robert's original manuscript of three years, 1181-3, are compressed into two years, both of which are given as 1182 (The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni, p. 304, n. 3).

[249] Above, page 289.

[250] Hillion 1985, p. 112.

[251] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 84.

This theory, in varying degrees, encompasses a view of the struggle as that of a Breton nation against Henry II (either personally as the dispossessor of Duke Conan IV or as an Angevin king), with Geoffroy taking advantage of resentment of his father. Similar interpretations have also contributed to a view, dated but not entirely discredited, of Henry II and 'the Celts' as oppressor and oppressed.[252] Yet Pocquet du Haut-Jussé's great contribution to the study of this period was his refutation of the supposed Breton nationalism in opposition to the 'English' Henry II.[253] More than this, Le Patourel noted approvingly, Pocquet du Haut-Jussé had questioned the unity of Breton sentiment and political structure.[254] This is not to say that some (even some very significant) Bretons might not have accepted Geoffroy (or anyone else) more easily than his father, and that Geoffroy might not have realised and used this. Arguably, however, Geoffroy's position as husband to the Breton ducal heiress Constance and as father to Arthur was symbolically more relevant to Breton barons than his own person. Constance herself, with or without Geoffroy, is somewhat mysterious in her intentions and motivations.[255]

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[252] John Gillingham's 1992 article takes a rather more sophisticated and well-supported view of a similar theme: that by the twelfth-century "the English [had] learned to despise their Celtic neighbors and to think of themselves as belonging to a higher level of civilisation" (1992, p. 68). The 'imperialism' of the Angevins which he cites as a context for this is certainly supportable, as are certain biases of the writers cited (notably William of Malmesbury). Yet the broadening of this to encompass entire peoples (and its corollary elevation into an obsession of Henry II) should be avoided. See also Flanagan 1989, pp. 8-9, 28, 56: the 'imperialism' of the Norman expansion into Ireland, she argues, stemmed not from Henry II but from the church, specifically the archdiocese of Canterbury.

[253] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 2.

[254] Le Patourel 1981, p. 99.

[255] The name of the son posthumous of Geoffroy and Constance, Arthur, has been viewed in various ways. Caroline Brett argues that "The Bretons had at least one body of tradition which would seem to be a ready-made focus for political identity: belief in the survival and return of King Arthur" (1989, p. 23). This belief may have found expression in Etienne of Rouen's *Draco Normannicus*, which draws heavily of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Shopkow 1984, p. 495, n. 110). The poem composed, *c.* 1169 (Shopkow 1984, p. 459), describes (among other events) Henry II's

Geoffroy's popularity and legitimacy is directly related to the Breton and Angevin political context which forms the background to the theft of St Petroc's relics in 1177 as related by the *De furto*. Tonnerre and Hillion argued for the recognition, by the Breton barons, of the legitimacy of Geoffroy's rule (even if this is only as opposed to Henry himself).[256] In Hillion's view this legitimacy was focused on the persons of Geoffroy and his wife, the Duchess Constance.[257] A visible unity (if not legitimacy) gathered around the person of Geoffroy may have been more a result of relative political peace and temporary consensus (a political vacuum having been filled) than an enthusiastic endorsement of Geoffroy. While Geoffroy lived, Henry II was still significantly involved in the government of Brittany. After Geoffroy's death Constance governed under the suzerainty of Henry II and then Richard I, although she was obliged to steer between these and the Capetian kings of

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crushing of the 1167-8 rebellion. According to the poem, Roland [de Dinan], "Arturi dapifer ... consul et idem/Tunc Britonum" sent a letter to King Arthur to ask for his help; Arthur then wrote to Roland and to Henry ("The 'Draco Normannicus' of Etienne of Rouen," pp. 696-705). Shopkow argues that Arthur was more a symbol than a threat to Henry; ultimately Henry was able to declare himself Arthur's heir to Brittany (Shopkow 1984, pp. 495-6). The name Arthur, Jones argues, might have been selected as "a deliberate appeal to Breton sentiment;" it might, however, represent "simply a choice determined by aristocratic and courtly fashion, a name currently made popular by the romance literature which the Angevins themselves had so much encouraged" (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 196). Hillion advocates the first possibility, maintaining that Constance, no doubt encouraged by her Breton advisors, "va faire de son fils, plus l'espoir et le futur chef des Bretons que l'heritier des Plantagenêts" (1985, p. 113). Both Hillion and Shopkow cite R.C. Loomis and his assessment of Henry II's campaign to unearth Arthur at Glastonbury (Hillion 1985, pp. 130, n. 35; Shopkow 1984, p. 496, and n.). Ultimately, as Jones admits, "the naming of Geoffrey Plantagenet's posthumous son as Arthur is, however, ambivalent testimony to the potency of the message" (Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 196); one might also add that the precise intention of this message at this time is equally uncertain. A thirteenth-century rewriting of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the *Gesta Regum Britanniae*, presents Arthur in what is perhaps specifically a slightly later anti-English aspect (Rigg 1992, p. 48; Gesta Regum Britannie).

[256] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 92; Hillion 1985, p. 112:

[257] Hillion cites, somewhat dubiously, the Breton historiographical tradition from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (1985, p. 112).

France.[258] Constance, Arthur, and their Breton supporters were, as Jones notes, "often divided amongst themselves."[259] Breton fragmentation was nothing new, and even while Geoffroy lived and saved the duchy from the worst of the external struggles (except those which he and his brothers instigated) with his presence, there were still local revolts (especially in continually restive Léon).[260]

One wonders whether the portrait of Breton unity under Geoffroy (read by some as an endorsement of Geoffroy's status as duke) is not at least in part the result of an effective centralising government. The view of both Pocquet du Haut-Jussé and Le Patourel is that the so-called unity of the Breton duchy under the Angevins was chiefly of an administrative nature.[261] Moreover, Geoffroy and his father seem to have cooperated towards this end: Geoffroy mostly supported his father's administrative aims, while attempting to thwart his control.[262] Yet even if Breton unity were no more than effective government and extension of power, this does represent unity of a sort,[263] and the achievements of the Angevins in this respect are not unimpressive. The ducal position under Henry and Geoffroy was greatly strengthened and stabilised: Nantes was more firmly joined to the duchy,[264] and its lands

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[258] Le Patourel 1981, p. 104; Hillion 1985, p. 113.

[259] Jones 1988, p. 32.

[260] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 93. See Chapter VI, page 313, for subsequent revolts in Léon.

[261] Le Patourel 1981, p. 99; Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, pp. 20-26. Hillion, also, in pointing to 1185 as "l'apogée du bref règne de Geoffroy, Duc de Bretagne" cites Geoffroy's administrative and legislative efforts in this year (Hillion 1985, p. 112).

[262] Tonnerre notes that Geoffroy was mostly faithful to Henry in administrative matters, but could also be hostile, as with Roland de Dinan (Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 94).

[263] Le Patourel 1981, p. 110.

[264] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 20.

were increased in the west, until "le duc était présent à travers toute la péninsule, ce qui ne s'était jamais produit auparavant."[265] Jones stresses the effectiveness of centralised government:[266] various legal reforms and standardisations were implemented,[267] among these the famous *Assize* of Geoffroy of 1185. Jones notes that this innovation, aimed at certain specific types of succession and 'contractual' in character, "was broadly upheld in all subsequent revisions of Breton customary law under the Ancien Regime."[268] Below the duke, a system of regional seneschals or justiciars was established, and by the late thirteenth century Brittany was divided into eight bailiffs, each one headed by a seneschal. This was perhaps less an innovation than an adaption of a pre-existing system (the Breton *comtés*), and Le Patourel sees in this the relative sensitivity of Henry's policy, commenting, "il n'y fut pas imposé brutalement. C'est tout à fait caractéristique de leur [Angevin] politique partout."[269] To this incorporation of at least some pre-existing structures (no doubt in the interests of pragmatism) can be added the respect of the Angevins for legal propriety as Pocquet du Haut-Jussé has stressed.[270]

Henry II, the Church, and St Petroc's Relics

[265] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, pp. 93-4.

[266] Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 195.

[267] The introduction of *brefs de mer* (safe-conducts to merchants), *bris* (wrecking rights), and *enquêtes de paye* (judgement by jury) are also worth noting (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, pp. 21-23; Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 195).

[268] Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 195; Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 21; see also above, page 283.

[269] Le Patourel 1981, p. 107.

[270] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 5: "Ce sera encore une conquête légale, car le grand législateur veillait toujours à mettre le droit formel de son côté."

One final aspect of Henry's role in the retrieval of St Petroc's relics remains to be considered: this is the Breton and English ecclesiastical context. The retrieval of St Petroc's relics, when it has been considered as part of Henry's overall policy, is usually assessed in an administrative light. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé cites the retrieval of the relics as a typical example of Henry's exertion of his considerable and effective administrative authority over Brittany, noting the "justice rapide et énergique du Plantagenet."[271] Le Patourel refers to the same incident as an example of the effective wielding of the executive power of the seneschal (but relies on Roger de Hoveden's version of the theft in which Roland's role is much less ambiguous than in the *De furto*).[272] Yet this begs the question of the exact nature of such an involvement: is it merely, or even chiefly, an administrative exercise?

Nicole Herrmann-Mascard makes it clear that before the thirteenth century there was little or no papal policy or ecclesiastical control of the translation and sale of relics.[273] Thefts of relics, "on ne saurait trop souligner," comments Herrmann-Mascard, were extraordinarily tolerated, at least until the end of the twelfth century.[274] Obviously, if a theft was successful, the saint had approved the event, and little sanction was expected; a successful theft, by definition, was a fait accompli. Restitution, if it occurred, was a matter of negotiation. Only one incident of papal intervention in such matters is known from the twelfth century, and in this case the intervention of Urban II had been directly and explicitly sought

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[271] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 26.

[272] Le Patourel 1981, p. 107, n. 47.

[273] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 175, 348.

[274] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 386-7.

by the house concerned.[275]

From the late ninth to the thirteenth centuries, thefts, when censured, had been prosecuted under both secular and canon law; papal opinion even admitted the priority of the secular courts, as such thefts fell under the category of sacrilege.[276] This was enunciated by a decretal, *Cum sit generale* of Pope Lucius III (1181-85), although the section of the decretal which stated the priority of the secular judge was omitted from the condensed entry generally available; the calendared entry did preserve that section which noted that if the secular judge neglected his duty the Church could intervene.[277] Elsewhere different views were advanced: the Synod of Milan in 1287, for example, asserted that a thief should he handed over to secular justice only if he would not submit to ecclesiastical censure.[278] These examples, of course, concern the judicial punishment of a thief; the theft of St Petroc's relics did not, as far as can be ascertained, involve any court, lay or ecclesiastical. Even more, then, did Henry II not infringe on the rights of ecclesiastical justice in this matter. Henry's invocation of his secular administration for the retrieval of stolen relics, his assistance to Bartholomew and Bodmin priory, were in no way hostile to the interests of the church: Henry was entitled, or even obligated, to intervene in this matter. Nevertheless, indirectly, Henry's dislike of papal intervention might have affected the swiftness of his action, for this administrative efficacy surely forestalled a potential appeal to the pope.

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[275] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 390-91, 394.

[276] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 390, 400.

[277] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, p. 400; Corpus Iuris Canonici, vol. II, p. 250 (X.II.2.8). This decretal was not included in the twelfth-century English collections examined by Charles Duggan (1963).

[278] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 400-1.

H. Mayr-Harting has stressed the significance of an apparent cooperation between Henry II and the papacy after the Becket affair. The appearance of cooperation, he concludes, is an essential component of Henry's ecclesiastical policy, and worked to the benefit of both sides. Henry's exercise of power, "now exercised completely by judicious interventions and subtle negotiations," was strongly dependent on his bishops.[279] One bishop in particular, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, emerges as especially significant, and although neither chronicle account of the theft (Roger de Hoveden's *Chronicle* and his *Gesta Henrici Secundi*) mentions Bartholomew, the account of the *De furto* is in this matter entirely credible. Henry's participation, it relates, was requested specifically by Bartholomew and his curial friends, Richard de Lucy and Walter of Coutances (ch. 11).

Bartholomew thus deserves a closer look, as a significant aide to Henry and as Bodmin priory's patron.[280] Bartholomew, perhaps a Breton by birth and certainly known as "a canonist of skill and reputation,"[281] had been the choice of the dying archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, to fill the see of Exeter; Henry II had been promoting his own politically expedient candidate, Robert fitzHarding.[282] Bartholomew, supported by the archbishop and the chapter at Exeter,[283] became bishop but did homage to Henry before his installation.[284] Bartholomew also emerged from the Becket affair relatively untainted,

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[279] Mayr-Harting 1965, pp. 50, 52-3.

[280] as bishop of Exeter; see Chapter IV, pages 205ff. In 1171 Bartholomew held a diocesan synod at Bodmin (Morey 1937, p. 32; Oliver 1854, p. 5).

[281] Morey 1937, pp. 3, 76. David Knowles (1970, p. 27) describes him as a Norman from Coutances, which is at the extreme west of Normandy.

[282] Warren 1973, pp. 436-7; Morey 1937, p. 12.

[283] Morey 1937, p. 12.

[284] Foreville 1943, p. 101.

retaining the confidence of king and pope while still "preserving his integrity."[285] Henry in fact had sent Bartholomew to plead his case to Alexander III in 1164.[286]

Henry's itinerary for 1177 shows Bartholomew (now an important papal judge-delegate)[287] to be an important member of Henry's *curia*, performing various useful and at times delicate services on behalf of king and church (not at all mutually exclusive).[288] Bartholomew, for example, disciplined and ultimately expelled a convent of nuns at Amesbury in January 1177; by May Henry and Bartholomew had introduced a new convent.[289] In July Henry restored to the Exeter bishopric the royal chaplaincy of Bosham, which had been taken by Henry in 1155 from Robert, bishop of Exeter, and granted to Arnulf of Lisieux.[290] In July also, Bartholomew, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Ely and Chichester appealed to the pope, averting a threatened interdiction by the Cardinal Legate.[291] Clearly Bartholomew was a valuable patron to the canons of Bodmin in the

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[285] Warren 1973, p. 550. According to Morey, "both sides were anxious to claim Bartholomew's support" (1937, p. 24). Bartholomew navigated several snares successfully (he had the dubious task of absolving Becket's murderers), and remained friendly with both sides (Morey 1937, p. 31); thus Knowles cites Bartholomew's "equivocal conduct" (1970, p. 104).

[286] Morey 1937, p. 18.

[287] Mayr-Harting 1965, p. 43; Duggan 1963, p. 122. As judge-delegate Bartholomew was an important collector of papal decretals (Duggan 1963, p. 149).

[288] Indeed, Duggan links the pro-Becket bishops to the extension of papal jurisdictional authority within England, and notes the primacy of such clerics in the extensive diplomatic missions of Henry II outside of England (1963, pp. 150-51).

[289] Eyton 1878, pp. 211, 214-15.

[290] Eyton 1878, p. 217. The situation with Bosham, a "rich benefice" is open to a number of interpretations: Henry had taken it from Robert as punishment for an appeal to the pope; Henry restored it at a time when Bartholomew was seeking its restoration at Rome and when Arnulf of Lisieux was severely out of favour with the king (The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux, p. liv; no. 111).

[291] Eyton 1878, p. 217.

matter of the theft of St Petroc's relics. As bishop of Exeter he had the patronage of Bodmin priory, as a member of Henry's court he had the ability to gain Henry's patronage, as a strict canonist he sought this patronage to the benefit of both Bodmin and Henry.

What can be reconstructed of Henry's behaviour after the theft implies an additional benefit which may have accrued to Henry, and suggests that his patronage of St Petroc was not merely a favour to Bartholomew. Bodmin priory itself, although not directly under the king's patronage in any significant fashion, may have been important to Henry as an ecclesiastical foundation, and more specifically as an Augustinian house.[292] In addition to gaining or enhancing a reputation as benefactor of religious houses, it is possible that Henry had strategically distributed St Petroc's relics; the theft text notes that he retained some for himself after the retrieval.

A twelfth-century royal donation has been suggested to explain the appearance of relics (or reputed relics) of St Petroc at three religious houses. The Benedictine abbey of Reading, founded by Henry I, claimed to have a relic of St Petroc in the twelfth century, and Denis Bethell has argued that the appearance of St Petroc's relics at the court of either Henry I or Henry II may lie behind this claim.[293] I.G. Thomas, in his survey of the medieval cult of relics in England, cites Henry II and the theft as a likely context for the appearance of relics of St Petroc at two houses, Shrewsbury, and Waltham.[294] The Shrewsbury relic cannot be directly connected to a context of twelfth-century royal patronage, although this house's

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[292] During the twelfth century the foundation or substitution of Augustinian houses increased greatly in England; many of these foundations were the result of royal or court patronage (see Chapter IV, page 199).

[293] See Chapter IV, page 232.

[294] See Appendix II.

acquisition of a relic of St Thomas Becket in the 1170s is suggestive.[295] Waltham abbey presents the most likely case of a donation of relics of St Petroc by Henry II, and underlines Henry's position as refounder of this Augustinian house. The substitution of regular for secular canons by Henry at Waltham occurred in 1177; by 1184 it had been raised in status from a priory to an abbey, with Walter of Ghent as its first abbot.[296] According to Waltham's relic list the rib of St Petroc had been donated by Walter of Ghent during the tenure of prior Ralph, which has been dated from 1177 to 1182 x 1184.[297] However, Thomas's contention that Walter obtained one of the three bones which Henry II kept for himself[298] is not entirely supported by the admittedly loose terminology used in the various accounts (in the theft text Henry keeps "tres iuncturas")[299] and according to the Waltham Abbey list the abbey possessed either "os de sancto Petroco" (in the list proper) or a "costa sancti Petroci" (in the list of donors).[300]

The episode underlines Henry's patronage of monasteries, which Elizabeth Hallam has argued was considerable after the death of Becket.[301] Augustinian canons had been installed at both Waltham and Hartland during Henry II's reign (with the consent of both Henry and

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[295] See Chapter IV, note 276.

[296] Hallam 1977, pp. 124-5.

[297] See Chapter IV, page 233.

[298] Thomas 1974, p. 265.

[299] See Chapter I, note 71.

[300] Thomas 1974, pp. 535 and 537. The actual number of relics retained and that of those possibly distributed subsequently need not be examined too closely, as Henry's donations of St Petroc's relics are only suggested by tradition, and relics can easily increase or decrease in number.

[301] Hallam 1977, pp. 131-2.

Bishop Bartholomew) and Waltham later obtained relics of Hartland's patron saint, St Nectan.[302] Bodmin, it may be recalled, was also an Augustinian house, and Henry's extended penance, his patronage of numerous religious houses, "accelerated dramatically after the mid-1170s."[303] Perhaps, in part, his assistance of Bodmin priory is a manifestation of his increasing contrition after Becket's death, a contrition at least partly expressed by patronage of Augustinian houses.

Henry's actions in the retrieval of relics can be characterised as an administrative success: the opportunity, offered by the theft of St Petroc's relics, to exert his authority in Brittany can be viewed in both the political and ecclesiastical sphere, if by this latter one understands a context which is not specifically papal but local. Henry II was visibly a force in Breton ecclesiastical affairs, and had appointed bishops in Rennes, Nantes, and Dol.[304] More than this, Henry actively supported the metropolitan pretensions of Dol against Tours, as the affiliation of Tours was variable (although Touraine was a Plantagenet possession).[305] The metropolitan dispute between Dol and Tours, which had raged from the ninth century and

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[302] Thomas 1974, p. 266.

[303] Hallam 1977, p. 132.

[304] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, pp. 15-6.

[305] Pocquet du Haut-Jussé 1946, p. 18; Walker 1982, pp. 228-9. The *pallium* had been granted to Hugues le Roux, archbishop of Dol from 1155, under the aegis of Henry II (Duine 1916, p. 128). Hugues's difficulties involved, among other things, local disputes: a bull of Pope Adrian IV of May 21, 1155, was sent to Geoffroy [II] de Dinan and his "fratres" Roland de Dinan, Bertrand, Raoul vicomte de Poudouvre, William de Montfort, Raoul de Fougères, and Robert de Vitré, supporting Hugues and ordering these and their vassals to return possessions encroached from the diocese (Mémoires, vol. I, col. 627; Guillotel 1975, p. 35; Hauréau 1856, cols. 1050-51). Jean II de Dol was also notorious for his encroachment on Hugues's territory (Duine 1916, pp. 128-9; Duine 1917, p. 9). The use of "fratres" in the bull, is ambiguous, both in its exact meaning and in its referents (although Guillotel takes it literally and describes Geoffroy II, Roland's cousin, as his brother (1975, p. 35).

finally ended in 1199 in favour of Tours,[306] was, as Duine has stressed, constantly inflamed; its political weight was considerable, for example, during the career of Roland III, bishop (or archbishop)-elect of Dol (who appears in the theft text) which began on November 11, 1177.[307]

Henry's interest in Breton ecclesiastical politics suggests that any at least superficially legitimate intervention could not but assist his authority. Henry's ability to order Saint-Méen to give up the relics of St Petroc could only enhance his position. Yet, more than this, the location of Saint-Méen, midway between the northern and southern coasts of Brittany and situated within the politically significant area of eastern Brittany, must have encouraged Henry's exertions. Indeed, the theft text suggests, possibly for a number of reasons, that the opportunity to visit numerous important officials and religious houses was seized upon eagerly by the party which had come to retrieve the relics.[308] This party, significantly, included a number of Henry's own cronies and was accompanied by writs in the king's name. The details of this expedition are given only by the theft text, but the *De furto* in this matter is entirely creditable, given the possibilities raised by such an expedition.

Thus in the ecclesiastical sphere, it becomes clear that Henry's aggressive retrieval of St Petroc's relics was legitimate, perhaps even required. Henry's previous confrontation with

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[306] Smith 1982, pp. 60-1.

[307] Duine 1916, pp. 131-3. The election occurred in the presence of Robert de Torigni, abbot of Mont Saint-Michel (The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni, pp. 275-6), whom Duine describes as "acteur et annaliste" in this period (1917, p. 9). Due to the ambiguity concerning the status of Dol, Roland was apparently never consecrated (Duine 1916, pp. 131-2, n. 6; but see "Vies," p. 183 n. 2 for a contrary opinion). Henry II was to order, at Roland's request, an enquiry into the lands and possessions of the Dol metropolitan (Duine 1917, p. 1). According to the theft text, the retrieval party visited Roland at Avranches on their way to Saint-Méen (see Chapter I, page 22).

[308] See Chapter I, pages 40ff.

the papacy and Thomas Becket is significant to the events of 1177 only inasmuch as Henry was now under obligation to both the English church at large and specifically Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter. The theft of St Petroc's relics, indeed, presented Henry with an auspicious opportunity to assert his power over Breton churches and to send his representatives on a tour of a strategically crucial area, eastern Brittany and western Normandy.

Conclusion: the Context of the Theft

In order to understand the theft text, it has been necessary to examine several background issues. The possible absence of the patron saint's relics at Saint-Méen might offer a clue to why Petroc's relics ultimately arrived at this house. Other aspects of Saint-Méen's situation, however, might be more important: its location on a probable route from Cornwall (down the Rance and into the peninsula) and its renown, due perhaps to the presence (entire, partial, or even former) of miracle-working relics of St Méen).

The Dinans, Roland especially, are clearly crucial to the understanding of much of what occurred in eastern Brittany and south-western England in the period between the Conquest and the thirteenth century (and possibly later). If these connections are not always clear (for example, between Roland and Cornwall or Roland and Saint-Méen) they are nevertheless intriguing. The political connections which spanned the Channel over several centuries can be seen as a complement to cultural and linguistic affinities which began long before this and persisted long after. The restitution of St Petroc's relics involved both British (used in the widest sense of the word, including Angevin) and Breton officials. This restitution also involved both ecclesiastical and lay authorities in both regions. This mutual dependence, and, in the case of St Petroc, co-operation, must be viewed within the context of pre-existing networks. The familial dimension, as illustrated by those families of British and

Breton seigneurs, abbots, and archbishops, and by the mother-houses and daughter priories which they patronised, has been, at times, neglected.[309] Both the *De furto* and what can be known of the theft from other sources suggest that Roland de Dinan played a key role in this episode. Roland, both as a Breton seigneur and British landholder, as a lay lord and patron of churches, stands at the centre of these events; his background is this interconnected environment. Keats-Rohan's argument, that the connection between Britain and Brittany significantly affected the political actions of Bretons in England, is compelling. The extension of this view to the secular and ecclesiastical sphere, is reasonable.

Henry II was able to exert his authority over Brittany in part by recognising and utilising these cross-Channel connections; this is amply illustrated in his choice of Roland de Dinan as his Breton justiciar or seneschal. At the time of the theft, Henry's authority was strong, but not entirely unchallenged; his own family, in Brittany his son Geoffroy, was restive and ambitious. The transportation of St Petroc's stolen relics into Brittany provided Henry with an opportunity; he would seem to have recognised the political and ecclesiastical benefits which might accrue should he obtain their restitution. St Petroc gave Henry an opportunity to exert his authority over Roland de Dinan and Geoffroy in an area of crucial importance, the Breton march. The theft gave Henry an opportunity to assist Bartholomew, to whom he was very much indebted, and allowed Henry to involve himself in the very local affairs of several Breton religious foundations. That several members of Henry's curial circle participated in the search party, and that the search party took such a circuitous route into and through Brittany, suggests that a semi-official visitation was among the objects of this exercise. In short, Henry used St Petroc for his own larger purposes. Chapter VI suggests,

[309] Keats-Rohan 1993, pp. 5-6.

however, in the account of the theft and recovery which now forms part of St Petroc's dossier, the hagiographer used Henry and his family in a similar fashion.

Chapter VI: the Theft Text, the Theft, and St Petroc

Introduction

The narrative of the theft of St Petroc's relics, *De reliquiarum furto*, has been examined in detail (in Chapter I) and some of its representations and their historical contexts have been explored (Chapters II-V). This final chapter assesses some of the larger narrative strategies deployed by *De furto*, in light of its curiously dualistic nature. The *De furto* combines its historically accurate concern for detail with a less historically trustworthy interpretive framework coloured by a range of literary, hagiographical, and generic demands. With the historical background having been established, this chapter re-examines some of the themes raised in Chapter I.

Thefts Pious and Impious

In order to investigate the way in which the author of the *De furto* explained the events of 1177, it will be useful to examine the categories into which thefts of relics can be organised. Nicole Herrmann-Mascard has proposed three basic types of theft, which are not mutually exclusive. The first is legitimate theft, the removal of relics from non-Christian possession as sanctioned by the law of Church and state;[1] the second is pious theft; the third is impious theft. The first category need not detain us long, for the theft of St Petroc's relics

[1] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, p. 367.

clearly does not fit here. The third category would seem to be the obvious and sole suitable category, as it embraces all unsuccessful thefts, as well as those thefts with the goal of traffic and profit.[2] Yet elements of the second category intrude, and where they do intrude the author of the theft text is visibly conflicted.

Herrmann-Mascard's categories are intended to describe the social and legal attitudes towards historical thefts, not the justifications found in the hagiographical accounts describing them. Indeed, Herrmann-Mascard is curiously dismissive of theft narratives (rejecting them as reflecting only the social and cultural milieu of the period of composition), while explicitly examining the social and cultural ramifications of devotion to relics.[3] Yet the literary justifications for thefts enumerated by Patrick Geary,[4] emanating from the social and cultural milieu of the text, are paralleled by those justifications listed by Herrmann-Mascard. Moreover, while narratives describing thefts which occurred (or did not occur) in the distant past are clearly of limited relevance to the events which they purport to describe, the very immediacy of the *De furto* renders a clear separation between theft and text difficult and pointless. The *De furto* clearly illustrates how inseparable is such a hagiographical narrative from the historical assessment of the events which it describes, even when those events are, relatively speaking, abundantly documented elsewhere. Thus Herrmann-Mascard's categories, intended to illuminate historical events and motives, can be usefully applied to the interpretive structures of this hagiographical narrative.

The theft of St Petroc's relics should by all accounts be considered an impious theft,

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[2] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, p. 381.

[3] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, p. 366.

[4] Geary 1990, pp. 113-17.

insofar as it was unsuccessful. The relics were taken from Bodmin priory and then permanently returned, more or less intact, to Bodmin. Yet was the theft entirely unsuccessful? The defining idea behind the view of the movements of relics, both in hagiographical narratives and in the cultural consensus of the period, was that the will of the saint would direct the saint's relics as he or she desired.[5] According to the *De furto* and what can be known of the historical circumstances of the theft of St Petroc's relics, Petroc wished to return to Bodmin. Yet this was clearly accomplished through avenues which had little or nothing to do with St Petroc himself. If Petroc acted for his return, he did so in a very indirect fashion.

St Petroc's will as revealed by the theft text in the unfolding of events is ambiguous: Petroc shows his displeasure with the thief, attempting to expose him at Saint-Magloire (ch. 4), but this has no effect on anyone other than Martin. Indeed, this sends Martin further into Brittany, to Saint-Méen. At Saint-Méen St Petroc again seems to expose the thief by miraculously paralysing the boys who handle the relics. However, this miracle also makes known the presence of the relics with predictable results (ch. 5): the relics are securely lodged at Saint-Méen and by the account of the hagiographer contentedly perform miracles there. Brooke has argued that the miracles performed at Saint-Méen are not in fact an indication of St Petroc's satisfaction with Saint-Méen, but a means of making their location known to Bodmin priory;[6] such an interpretation, however, is debatable. Aside from the miraculous suitability of the shrine (ch. 15), which is at any rate an indirect miracle, the relics perform no more obvious miracles after those at Saint-Méen. They do not assist the retrieval party in

[5] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 387, 390; Geary 1990, pp. 113-14.

[6] Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, p. 266.

any obvious way, and in fact alert the monks of Saint-Méen to the party's presence, hindering this particular rescue attempt (ch. 14). The suitability of the relics' return is constantly reiterated after the party comes to possess them (ch. 15). Yet it is not Petroc but the ecclesiastical and secular officials entrusted with the task of retrieval who make these assertions. St Petroc as a direct force is almost entirely absent from the *De furto* after the miracles performed by the saint at Saint-Méen. Petroc's last direct statement through his relics indicates his desire to be made known to the monks of Saint-Méen and his willingness to heal suppliants at this site.

Thus St Petroc's own attitude, as concerns the historical theft and as illustrated in the *De furto*, can be described as equivocal. Two key elements establish the impiety of the theft: direct sanction by the saint and restitution due to the action of the saint.[7] While St Petroc's agency is limited in both respects, the theft does not permanently succeed, and this in itself is a sign of the ultimate will of the saint.[8] The author, of course, has been faced with certain factual limitations, which he has seen fit to respect, or even at times to endorse enthusiastically. The very contemporaneity of his account dictates his accommodations to factual accuracy to a certain extent.

If one considers Herrmann-Mascard's category of pious thefts, several items are clearly pertinent. Some aspects of the pious theft are obviously not applicable: a theft can be considered pious if the relics in question are stolen by those who have a right to them or if they have been taken as legitimate spoils of war.[9] Neither of these circumstances is

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[7] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, p. 381.

[8] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, p. 389.

[9] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 373-5, 379-81.

applicable to the theft of St Petroc's relics, and the author of the *De furto* does not invoke them. Two other categories of the pious theft are more relevant: a theft can be justified by the negligence of cult on the part of the foundation holding the relics; or a theft can be justified *causa devotionis.*[10] The *De furto* hints at the former condition: the introductory material of the text presents the theft as a punishment for Bodmin priory's sins, and stresses the length of time between the theft and the discovery of it (chs. 1-2). One is drawn to the obvious conclusion that at least part of the sins of Bodmin priory consist in their neglect of these relics. The justification *causa devotionis*, closely linked to the notion that relics are "un bien commun à tous les fidèles qui ... peut être possédé par quiconque a assez d'adresse et de bonheur pour s'emparer,"[11] is more difficult to prove in this text, as the thief's motives are unclear and his connection to the foundation which ended up with the relics, Saint-Méen, is obscure.

This brings us to the relic thief of the *De furto*, Martin. Geary has noted a justification which entered into the hagiographical tradition in the tenth and eleventh centuries: "the spiritual and moral state of the individual perpetrator. Simply stated, the action of a good man was good, although the same act performed by an evil man would be bad."[12] There is no doubt in the *De furto*: Martin is evil. His evil operates on two levels: Martin is both a personally (and plausibly) motivated individual and also an agent of larger forces of evil. The forces controlling Martin, when he is presented merely as a pawn, are supernatural: nowhere

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[10] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 375-6, 376-9. The roughly parallel hagiographical justifications listed by Geary include the security of the relics and the good of the community which receives the relics (1990, pp. 114-15).

[11] Herrmann-Mascard 1975, p. 364.

[12] Geary 1990, p. 115. Geary has also commented on the suitability of the "set of moral referents" or justifications to the praise or censure of a theft (1990, p. 113).

is Martin described as the agent of Saint-Méen. Yet the precise degree of Martin's personal involvement in and level of planning of the theft is changeably presented: with the 'plot' of the sixth chapter his role becomes bewilderingly muddled.[13]

Martin's character is central to the plot of the sixth chapter and to our understanding of it, for in this chapter the narrator steps back and leaves Martin to present his plan, for the most part without authorial comment. The information conveyed in the sixth chapter of the *De furto* is presented almost exclusively as an account of what Martin said to Roland de Dinan. The hagiographer resumes his authorial voice only at the end of Martin's speech, when he comments on Martin's wickedness and self-interest, and on the futility of his actions in the face of the will of God and the saint. Moreover, the hagiographer does not comment on Roland's reaction to Martin's offer. The very indirectness of the author's narration of the plot points to his unwillingness to endorse it. Yet he does not contradict it: indeed, in describing the plot as Martin's 'cunning' ("hac astucia"), he admits both its evil and its potential efficacy; in omitting Roland's reaction he implies that Roland at least is willing to consider it.

<u>Martin and his Plot</u>

The 'plot' of the sixth chapter has inspired differing commentary from English and Breton scholars. Doble merely commented, "on what political situation the subtle intrigue suggested by Martin may have been based we do not know."[14] Grosjean, on the other hand, citing Doble's comment as the understandably naive view of the "loyal sujet de Sa Majesté

[13] In the 'plot,' it may be recalled, Martin went to Roland de Dinan and offered the presence of St Petroc's relics in Brittany as a means of increasing Geoffroy's power over Brittany and also as a means of gaining Cornwall (rightly, Martin argues, belonging to Geoffroy) for the duke (below, page 317).

[14] Doble 1939, p. 407, n. 8.

britannique,"[15] had a more complicated view of the matter. Thus it will be useful to examine some of the political and historical aspects of Martin's plan, based on the investigation of Chapter V. After 1167-8, and certainly by 1173, Roland was viewed by Henry II as a loyal baron and entrusted with a position of great administrative significance, the Breton justiciarship or seneschalship, a position which he held until his death.[16] In 1177 Henry's young son Geoffroy was nominally duke of Brittany, but the real governmental authority would seem to have been vested in Henry II, through Roland.[17] Thus the success of Martin's attempt to enlist Roland's help to wrest Brittany for Geoffroy from Henry appears unlikely.

Grosjean, in his attempt to provide a coherent explanation for the text's apparent delusion in this matter, argues that the retrieval party must have fallen into the middle of Breton intrigues against the Angevins (specifically Henry II). He cites Roger de Hoveden's statement that in August Henry arrived in Normandy with Geoffroy and sent the latter into Brittany to quell rebellion.[18] However, if one consults the sole chronicler of Henry's reign with more than a passing interest in Brittany, Robert de Torigny, one discovers that the rebel in question was Guihomarc'h of an unremittingly recalcitrant district in western Brittany, Léon.[19] Indeed, in 1179 Geoffroy was again in Léon fighting what was no doubt essentially the same battle.[20] If, as seems likely, the retrieval party was present exclusively in

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[15] "Vies," p. 179, n. 1.

[16] Chapter V, pages 287ff.

[17] Chapter V, pages 288ff.

[18] "... misit Gaufridum filium suum in Britanniam ad debellandum inimicos suos Britanniae" (Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, p. 190; "Vies," p. 179, n. 1).

[19] The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, p. 274.

[20] Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, p. 239.

northeastern Brittany and western Normandy, they could not at all have landed, as Grosjean would have it, "en pleine ligne de bataille"[21] although they could have crossed Geoffroy's forces on the way to distant Léon.

Yet Henry and Geoffroy only arrived on the Continent in August; the dating of the theft events shows that the Continental portion of the retrieval had ended well before this. According to those dates which are provided by the various accounts, the retrieval party arrived at Dinan on June 11 (ch. 14); the relics were returned to them at Saint-Méen on June 19 (Roger de Hoveden);[22] the final installation and ostension at Bodmin occurred on September 15 (ch. 21). Additional information can be inferred: the theft itself was discovered when Henry, Walter of Coutances, and Richard de Lucy were at Winchester, and when Bartholomew was at Exeter (chs. 2 and 10-11). The two best possibilities are either a period between February 22 and March 20, or between May 29 and June 3, with the latter more likely as Bartholomew was not at Exeter during the former period.[23] The return with the relics to London seems to have been accomplished quickly, and the party arrived at Winchester before the king, who was about to hold a great council. As this council would seem to be that of July 1,[24] the party must have been in England for some time by then. It is clear that the August campaign of Geoffroy (or perhaps Roland and Geoffroy) in Léon cannot have affected the retrieval of the relics.

Also clear from this chronology is the inaccuracy of Grosjean's characterisation of

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[21] "Vies," p. 178, n. 1.

[22] Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, vol. I, p. 179.

[23] Eyton 1878, 211-12, 215.

[24] Chapter I, note 70.

Roland as a plotter against Henry II, as implied in this portion of the *De furto*. He suggests that Roland was covertly rebellious, hid, in June, his agenda, and deliberately retained the relics during the August rebellion. Ultimately, Grosjean views Roland as a clever rebel, obtaining the relics on Henry's authority but then retaining them for his own purposes: Martin and Roland are playing the same game. The plot is not nonsense: Martin, he explicitly states, "s'était montré un politique avisé."[25] Grosjean's opinion was formed in part by the reticence of the theft text, which gives only two specific dates: that of the arrival of the retrieval party in Dinan and that of the relic's return to Bodmin; in part Grosjean has relied too exclusively on Roger de Hoveden's account.[26]

Where Martin's plot concerns Brittany, both the general outline and the specific details are questionable. The Cornish aspect of the plot seems slightly better informed. Leaving aside for the moment the theft text's assertion that the duke of Brittany was or should have been also rightfully earl of Cornwall, and that the presence of St Petroc's relics could support Geoffroy's claim to this position, the text's view of the earldom of Cornwall as vacant was, in fact, accurate. Indeed, Christopher Brooke, commenting on this passage, acknowledged:

> At first sight [the relics as a support for Geoffroy's claim to the earldom] seems a far-fetched idea, and it is hard to believe that Roland or Geoffrey would have taken it very seriously. But the story itself, curiously enough, offers cogent confirmation that the narrative is contemporary: a later writer would hardly have known that the earldom of Cornwall had recently become vacant, by the death in 1175 of Earl Reginald, illegitimate son of Henry I, so that its destiny would undoubtedly have been a matter for speculation and intrigue at this time.[27]

While this portion of the plot may present a compelling argument for its contemporaneity, it

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[25] "Vies," p. 179, n. 1.

[26] See also, below, page 319.

[27] Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, p. 266.

does not equally support the plot's plausibility. The earldom of Cornwall, which grew out of Robert of Mortain's estates and became, in the fourteenth century, the duchy of Cornwall, was in its early stages an existing but intermittently filled entity; during a vacancy (such as that produced by Earl Reginald's death in 1175) it merged with the Crown.[28] The Cornish revenues would seem to have been granted to various people: Earl Reginald's illegitimate son Henry fitz Count was granted the county in farm at some point, either at his father's death[29] or in 1215;[30] John, when count of Mortain, had the royal revenues of Cornwall from the coronation of his brother, Richard I, in 1189 (although his career in Cornwall and elsewhere was chequered).[31] Only in 1227, with John's son Richard, king of the Romans, was the earldom filled.[32] The vacancy of the earldom, while accurately implied by the theft text, would seem to have been a sufficiently common occurrence; it need not have been a matter for very intense intrigue, although it would surely have been of interest.

If Martin's plot makes no political or historical sense, and is not necessary to the narrative unfolding of the events of the theft, what was it meant to accomplish? It does establish Martin's evil character, although, as suggested above, this is ambiguously presented. The point of the plot, I believe, is the statement that Martin

> sought to persuade [Roland] that he had brought with him into Brittany the chief of the saints of Cornwall for the profit and for the augmenting of the honour of

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[28] Soulsby 1986, pp. 40-42; Caption of Seisin, p. xii, n. 3.

[29] Elliott-Binns 1955, p. 158; Sincock 1890-91, p. 171.

[30] Fryde, Greenway, Porter, Roy 1986, p.456, n. 3; DNB, vol. 16, p. 866; Given-Wilson and Curteis 1984, p. 72.

[31] Warren 1978, pp. 38, 46-47; it is possible that one should describe John as earl of Cornwall (Caption of Seisin, p. xii, n. 3).

[32] Fryde, Greenway, Porter, Roy 1986, p.456; Padel 1988b, p. 64.

> [Roland's] lord ... and therefore he had reverently entrusted the chief of the saints of that country, namely St Petroc, in the dominion of [Geoffroy] at Saint-Méen, asserting greatly that if that body of the most holy confessor were kept safely and carefully, that the whole of Cornwall would be subjected to [Geoffroy].[33]

Although the significance of St Petroc to the Angevins would seem to be adequately implied by the events themselves, the author of the theft text, here and in his protracted description of governmental exertions in the retrieval and the number of significant people involved,[34] embraces, expands, and embroiders this aspect of the theft. Apparently the mere involvement of Henry II and his officials was not enough for the hagiographer; the recognition, by Angevins in both England and Brittany, of the *auctoritas* of St Petroc's presence must be added.

The *De furto* as History

François Dolbeau has commented upon the scarcity of hagiographical texts which show the restitution of stolen relics due to the involvement of secular authorities rather than the involvement of the saint concerned. The lack of agency of the saint, Dolbeau argues, is a sign of the participation of such texts in a historical rather than a hagiographical discourse.[35] Dolbeau cites only two known 'historical' narratives: the account of the tenth-century theft and restitution of the relics of St Ghislain, found in a series of *Miracula*, and that of the

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[33] "... satagit persuadere ei sese in Britanniam sanctorum principem Cornubie secum attulisse ad com<m>odum et ad cumulum honoris domini sui ... et ideo principem sanctorum patrie illiius, sanctum videlicet Petrocum, in dicione prefati comitis, apud Sanctum Mevennum, venerabiliter com<m>endasse, asserens magno opere, si corpus istud sanctissimi confessoris caute et diligenter custodiretur, quod tota Cornubia in proximo comitatui Britannie domini sui ... subiceretur" (ch. 6).

[34] Chapter I, pages 38ff, 35ff.

[35] Dolbeau 1981, pp. 172-3. The *De furto* is even more 'remarkable' in this sense: it positively revels in the administrative agency of the return of St Petroc's relics (see Chapter I).

eleventh-century theft and restitution of the relics of St Oricle, occurring in the dossier of this saint.[36] The latter account is described by Dolbeau as "exceptionnelle:" it contains almost no hagiographical *topoi*.[37] The account of St Ghislain's relics is strikingly similar to that of the *De furto*: while it includes a vision of the saint demanding the return of his relics,

> contrairement aux lois du genre [hagiographique], le *topos* (apparition du saint) y est juxtaposé et non substitué à l'événement réel (pressions de la hierarchie écclesiastique).[38]

The *De furto*, clearly, could easily have been included by Dolbeau in this discussion, which seeks to nuance the genre of furtive translations, a genre at present founded "exclusivement sur des récits hagiographiques."[39] An appreciation of the potential complexity of such narratives, their ability to present both historical and hagiographical perspectives, can illuminate many of the apparent contradictions of the *De furto*. In particular, such an analysis is directly relevant to the 'plot' of the *De furto* and its subsequent criticism.

Grosjean attempted to render credible the information provided by the sixth chapter of the *De furto* in part because of a lack of contradictory information.[40] Yet his view of the *De furto* as consistently historical rather than hagiographical has coloured his evaluation of the plot. The primary reason for Grosjean's reluctance to contradict the *De furto*, even when it contradicts itself, must be its visible and apparently consistent historical accuracy. This accuracy is implied not only by those details which can be independently confirmed (and

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[36] Dolbeau pp. 173, 182-4.

[37] Dolbeau p. 173: "Tout se passe comme si cette histoire avait échappé de manière remarquable à la déformation hagiographique."

[38] Dolbeau 1981, p. 173.

[39] Dolbeau 1981, p. 182.

[40] See above, page 315.

which Grosjean, in his numerous footnotes, has confirmed), but also by the short period of time between these events and the composition of the text by an author having close ties to one of the foundations involved in the affair. Yet although Grosjean cannot entirely justify the implications of the sixth chapter, he also cannot contradict the text's information. Grosjean cannot accept the text's apparent invocation of both a historical approach and a hagiographical agenda which at times contradicts the former.[41]

Conclusion: the *De furto* as Hagiography

The view of the plot as historically unlikely leads us back to the justifications for the theft which are advanced by the author. In this respect we can disregard Martin's character, for obviously St Petroc has allowed or even used him for a reason. The first coherent rationalisation advanced by the text is the punishment of Bodmin's sins (ch. 1); this is, at best, a minor issue. The text's dominant, even overwhelming, justification of the theft (and thus, one might argue, the reason for the very existence of the theft text) is the importance of St Petroc to Cornwall and, implicitly, to its sister area, Brittany, and the representation of this awareness as extending into and well beyond these areas. This is the justification presented in the second chapter:

> In this matter, which we now have begun to narrate, it is clear how benignly, how mercifully God used the evil of this sacrilegious Martin, for the glory and honour of St Petroc. For he, who previously had been scarcely known and venerated among his own people in Cornwall, now is elevated and exalted in the whole orb of the world

[41] Behind Grosjean's statement must also lie the conception of Henry II, in both the hagiographical and the historical genre, as the English oppressor of the uniformly rebellious Bretons, despite Pocquet du Haut-Jussé's arguments; see Chapter V, pages 292ff. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé noted the theft and retrieval in his description of Henry II's governmental machinery; he cited the Gotha version of these events including the plot, upon which he did not comment (1946, p. 25).

among kings and princes (ch. 2).[42]

The subsequent events of the theft support this justification: St Petroc propels Martin deeper into Brittany, and exposes him at every turn, to the enhancement and extension of Petroc's reputation. The process of retrieval, both the involvement of several officials and the visiting of other prominent persons, works towards this same end. The *De furto* is entirely consistent and visibly emphatic in this matter.

This end, it should be noted, is achieved as much as possible through an appeal to historical or apparently historical circumstances. Yet what of the author's lapses? The author, for example, might have intended for the plot to be taken as historically accurate. This is reasonable, given our posited author, a canon of Bodmin, who has some knowledge of Angevin government (perhaps through his or his informant's experiences with the retrieval party) and who may have concocted something which was intended to be read sincerely. More likely, however, despite its considerable historically-intended trappings, the plot was intended to be understood symbolically as a statement of St Petroc's significance.

What of St Petroc's previous fame? It has been argued in Chapter IV that by the later twelfth century Bodmin priory was, and had been for some time, one of the more important religious houses of Cornwall. St Petroc, also, was and had been well know throughout Cornwall at least since the mid-tenth century, as the manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels suggest (Chapter III). If the *Miracula* are accurate, St Petroc's relics had been taken to another Norman king, Henry I, not too long before the theft.[43] St Petroc was, at the time of

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[42] "In hoc enim opere, de quo narrare incepimus, patet quam benigne, quam clementer usus sit Deus malo sacrilegi huius Martin, ad gloriam et honorem sancti Petroci. Qui enim vix prius inter suos Cornibua tantum notus et veneratus fuit, nunc in universo orbe terrarum, inter reges et principes, est elevatus et exaltatus."

[43] Chapter II, page 55.

the composition of the *De furto*, well known in Cornwall, and was possibly present in the liturgy in England. Moreover, St Petroc's cult was probably already present in western Brittany, was probably known at the abbey of Saint-Jacut in eastern Brittany, and was possibly already known at Saint-Méen itself.[44]

Again, it is possible that our author, the presumed canon of Bodmin, did not know of a Breton cult of St Petroc, and indeed, the emphasis of the *De furto* on matters falling directly into the experience of the retrieval party tends to support a rather limited view and range of interests. Yet even the theft narrative hints that St Petroc was not unknown to the monks of Saint-Méen. Considering the text's raison d'être, the assertion that St Petroc was not widely known before the theft, it is somewhat surprising that, according to the narrative, once the relics are discovered there is no assumption that the monks of Saint-Méen need to be told who St Petroc is. While Martin has to tell Roland de Dinan, twice, that St Petroc is the chief saint of Cornwall (ch. 6), he only has to tell the monks of Saint-Méen whose relics he is carrying, and to confirm this with an oath (ch. 5). The oath, it must be understood, is to confirm that these are indeed the relics of St Petroc; this is apparently sufficient for the monks of Saint-Méen, and the relics are immediately honoured, installed in the church, and placed in water which is to be used for healing (ch. 5).

The theft of their patron saint's relics must have been, to say the least, somewhat embarrassing to the canons of Bodmin priory. The potentially humiliation of the theft, and the historicity of the fact of the theft frees us from the consideration of the *De furto* as a

[44] Chapter IV. Julia Smith's assertion (based on Grosjean's commentary) that "there is no good evidence of any cult of Petroc at Saint-Méen before the arrival of his relics in 1177" (1990, p. 315, n. 26) is reasonable but probably too severe.

potentially fictitious or forged account of an invented theft.[45] Moreover, the impulses which might inspire such a fictitious account are clearly not present in the case of St Petroc's relics. The Bodmin foundation had no need to explain the presence of newly-arrived relics, or those which had been present for years without a specific identity, as is confirmed by the *Miracula* and the manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels.

Yet Bodmin priory, having suffered this ignominious theft, incorporated it into its communal history.[46] The author, our Bodmin canon, composed, presumably made public (if only in a limited sense), and ultimately if indirectly preserved this text. The tale is one of loss and mostly recovery, one which, one suspects, could just as easily have gone unwritten. Perhaps the Bodmin community, clearly privy to at least some of the workings of Henry II's court, knew of Roger de Hoveden's inclusion of this unusual incident, an inclusion which has been described by Brooke as "remarkable,"[47] and wished to present it to posterity with appropriate embellishments. This implies a putative or actual audience beyond the priory itself.

Is this concern for St Petroc's presentation outside of his priory connected to the author's evident desire to present St Petroc as significant within a wider secular and historically conscious world? If St Petroc's and Bodmin's wider reputation are at stake, the presentation of these events in a manner which is as positive as possible becomes understandable. Representing the theft as the spread of St Petroc's reputation not only lessens Bodmin's culpability; it also makes St Petroc seem more powerful (and certainly less

[45] See, for example, Geary 1990, pp. 13, 50-51, 108.

[46] As Dolbeau comments, accounts of thefts from the point of view of the victims are relatively rare (1981, p. 172, n. 4).

[47] Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, p. 265.

indecisive). It also suits the circumstances of the actual theft. The theft of the relics might also be viewed as a compliment not only to St Petroc but also to his relics: these relics were sufficiently important to inspire this theft.[48] The agency of another religious house, in this case Saint-Méen, in ordering the theft, would render the compliment yet more impressive.[49]

Even if Julia Smith's contention that cults were introduced into local Breton areas by clerical means and the presence of corporeal relics is perhaps a too limited view of this process,[50] the possibility that the clergy of Saint-Méen somehow requested St Petroc's relics is intriguing. Some have viewed Martin himself as a Breton (although not connected directly to Saint-Méen), probably because of his flight to Brittany.[51] Yet there is no evidence of Martin's origin, and certainly no hint in the *De furto* or elsewhere that Saint-Méen instigated the theft.[52] More likely, Saint-Méen was on the logical route into Brittany from the Rance or Saint-Malo. This area was one of the most popular entries into Brittany, both during the Middle Ages and later.[53] Dinan, and its close neighbour Lehon, were significant stops on

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[48] At times theft is the only way of obtaining authentic relics (Herrmann-Mascard 1975, pp. 364-5).

[49] see the "véritable opération de commando" which the monks of the future Saint-Magloire de Lehon at Dinan undertake to gain relics for their foundation as ordered by the Breton prince Nominoë, proudly and appropriately outlined in the mid-ninth-century Life of St Magloire (Merdrignac 1989, p. 37; Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 932; "S. Maglorii Dolensis episcopi prima translatio," pp. 372-9).

[50] Chapter III, pages 170ff.

[51] Doble 1924, p. 9.

[52] The text does, however, stress that Saint-Méen rapidly accepted and greatly revered St Petroc's relics.

[53] See Chapter I, page 23; Couffon 1968, pp. 51-2, and various comments in Macready and Thompson 1984, especially that of Langouët (1984, *passim*), but also the comments of Cunliffe, Galliou, and Nash (Macready and Thompson 1984, pp. 5 and fig. 1, pp. 28, 98).

this route;[54] the latter site would seem to have been a meeting area for several clerics from throughout Brittany who were fleeing the Viking raids with their relics.[55] Possibly the *De furto* is entirely accurate in attributing Martin's presence at Saint-Méen to an impulse to flee Saint-Magloire de Lehon. His presence at Saint-Magloire can be attributed to its central position on the road from the coast or the River Rance. The main question concerning Martin's travels is, why Brittany?

Whether or not Martin was a Breton, the answer to this question may lie in the context invoked throughout this thesis, and also by the theft text itself: that is, the profound and well-known ties between Cornwall and Brittany. This cultural link operated before (and may account for) the Breton immigration from south-west Britain to Armorica. This link also lies behind the presence of the Cornish St Petroc's cult in Brittany (through the presence of Bretons in Cornwall), and forms an essential context for much of the post-Conquest history of the Britain's south west. It also makes sense of the *De furto*'s apparently odd claim that the duke of Brittany w[illegible] also rightly earl of Cornwall (ch. 6).

This profo[illegible] cultural connection has been cited in the discussion of the implantation of St Petroc's cult in Brittany: because the two areas were so closely linked, a transmission of cult which might have been difficult[56] was possible; Petroc became a Breton saint with little resistance. The cultural unity of the two areas can perhaps also explain the ease with which the relics were adopted by Saint-Méen. The *De furto*, in apparent contradiction of its stated purpose, shows how quickly Saint-Méen benignly exploited St Petroc's relics. Relics are, as

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[54] Merdrignac 1989, p. 41.

[55] Oheix 1906, pp. 165-6; Guillotel 1982, pp. 288-9. See also the *Altera translatio sancti Maglorii* (Lapidge and Sharpe 1985, no. 933; Guillotel 1982, pp. 310-15).

[56] or even impossible, if one accepts Smith's argument.

Patrick Geary reminds us, "neutral depositories of constructed meaning."[57] They cannot operate in a cultural or religious vacuum, and thus do not necessarily travel well. Yet St Petroc's relics have travelled to Brittany and back, a fact which the Bodmin community did not suppress. Perhaps the ease of removal is paralleled by the ease of re-installation. Perhaps a journey to Brittany was not perceived by the Cornish community as too great a dislocation, although the requisite ceremonies of re-installation, especially the ostension of the relics and swearing of oaths, were necessary. Yet perhaps the very existence of the *De furto* shows the ease of transition: its full description of how the relics went to Brittany, were enthusiastically (both on the part of the abbey and on the part of the saint) housed there and then returned can be viewed as an attempt on the part of Bodmin to smoothly re-establish a continuity which had been interrupted by the theft: the continuity between the pre- and post-theft relics.[58] St Petroc's relics, the *De furto* implies, had not experienced too great a dislocation: the creation of an account of the relics' journeys in Brittany by the Bodmin community implicitly sanctions these journeys and integrates the theft into the accepted traditions of the house. Among the motivations of the *De furto* must lie the Bodmin community's stress on the ease of transplantation between sites. The author of the *De furto* would have the reader believe this transplantation constituted no great upheaval.

The inclusion of the plot is chiefly intended to stress St Petroc's importance to a wider world of kings and politics. Its secondary purpose, however, might be to remind the reader of the close historical and cultural ties between Cornwall and Brittany. These ties, it is important to recognise, are symbolised in the *De furto* by St Petroc and his relics. The *De furto*, despite

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[57] Geary 1990, p. ix.

[58] The relocation of relics, Dolbeau notes, can cast doubt on their authenticity (1981, p. 173).

the extent of its narrative confusions, is on some levels a notably successful document. Its composition would seem to have been the Bodmin community's last word on their patron saint: the surviving dossier of St Petroc reveals no further supplement to its account.

Appendix I: Possessions of St Petroc's at Domesday[1]

Cornwall

Possessions held by the saint[2]

Bodmin: the church of St Petroc holds Bodmin (*Bodmine*) in 1066 and in 1086. One hide of land never paid tax. St Petroc's has 68 houses (*burgenses*, according to the summary in the Exeter Domesday) and a market (4,3 and Exon. notes).

Padstow: According to Exeter Domesday the 'canons' of St Petroc held Padstow in 1066; the church holds Padstow (*Lanwenehoc* or *Languihenoc*) in 1086; it never paid tax 'except for the use of the church' (4,4 and p. 69).

Rialton: According to Exeter Domesday the 'canons' of St Petroc held Rialton (*Rieltone* or *Rielton*) in 1066 when it was exempt from all service; the church of St Petroc holds it in 1086 (4,5 and p. 69).

Fursnewth: Fursnewth (*Fosnewit*) was held in 1066 by Maccus of the church of St Petroc and could not be separated from the saint. He also holds it in 1086 (4,17).

Ellenglaze: Ellenglaze (*Elil*) held in 1066 by church of St Petroc according to Exeter Domesday; St Petroc holds it in 1086 (4, 18, and p. 70).

Withiel: Withiel (*Widie*) was held in 1066 by the church of St Petroc; it is held in 1086 by the saint. The count of Mortain is said to have 'received it' (4,19).[3]

Treknow: Treknow (*Tretdeno*) was held in 1066 by St Petroc; it is held in 1086 by the saint. The count of Mortain is said to have 'received it' (4,20).

Possessions held by the count of Mortain of the saint

Tywarnhayle: Tywarnhayle was held in 1066 by Algar who could not be separated from St Petroc; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint (4,7)

Halwyn: Halwyn (*Elhil*) was held in 1066 by a thane who could not be separated from St Petroc; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint (4,8).

Callestick: Callestick (*Calestoch* or *Calestoc*) was held in 1066 by a thane who could not be

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[1] All citations are from the Exchequer Domesday edited by Caroline and Frank Thorn (Domesday Book: Cornwall), and appear under the relevant section number assigned by the editors. Extra information from the Exeter Domesday is cited according to the notes to the Exchequer version or by page number from the Victoria County History version ([Exoniensis Domesday, Cornwall])..

[2] See Chapter IV, pages 177 and 181, for the practice in Cornish Domesday to refer to a church by its patron saint. The Cornish Exchequer Domesday refers to St Petroc'c church as "eccl*es*ia S*ancti* Petroc*i*" (4,3), as "ipsa æccl*es*ia" (4,4), as "S Petroc" (of indeterminate case, 4,6; as ablative following "de", 7,4; or as nominative as subject, 4,19), and as "s*anc*to" (following "ab"; 4,7). In all cases the church should be understood as the underlying subject, although clearly the patron saint is acting gramatically and symbolically as an important symbol for the church.

[3] See Finn 1964, p. 127 n. 1. This may merely indicate 'formerly' (see Domesday Book: Cornwall, Lordship table in Exon. notes) and occurs in connection with Treknow (4,20).

separated from St Petroc's; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint (4,9).

Cargoll: Cargoll (*Cargav*) was held in 1066 by a thane who could not be separated from St Petroc's; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint. It has a mill (4,10).

Treloy: Treloy (*Trelloi*) was held in 1066 by Godric who could not be separated from St Petroc; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint (4,11).

St Enoder: St Enoder (*Heglosenuder* or *Hecglosenuda*) was held in 1066 by Godric (who, according to Exeter Domesday, could not be separated from St Petroc); the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint. One hide never paid tax (4,12 and p. 70).

Bossiney: Bossiney (*Botcinnii* or *Botcinnu*) was held in 1066 by Alfwy who could not be separated from St Petroc's; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint (4, 13).

Trevilly:[4] Trevilly (*Tremail*) was held in 1066 by Aiulf who could not be separated from St Petroc; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint (4,14).

Polroad: Polroad (*Polrode* or *Polrod*) was held in 1066 by a thane who could not be separated from St Petroc; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086 of the saint (4,15).

Trengale:[5] Trengale (*Turgoil*) was held in 1066 by Godric, who could not be separated from St Petroc; Richard (who is likely an underling of the count of Mortain) holds it in 1086 of the saint. Exeter Domesday describes it as part of the lordship of St Petroc (4,16 and p. 71).

Nancecuke: Nancecuke (*Lanchehoc* or *Lancichuc*) was held in 1066 by Cadwallon who could not be separated from St Petroc; Berner holds it in 1086 of the saint (4,6). A Berner appears as an undertenant of the count of Mortain, holding ten manors of the count (5,8,1-10) and also holds one land of the count of Mortain which was taken from the Canons of St Piran (4,26).

Possessions and payments usurped from St Petroc in Domesday

Coswarth: Coswarth (*Gudiford* or *Cudifort*) was held in 1066 by Brictric and then Queen Matilda; the king holds it in 1086. It paid a sum of money or an ox by custom to St Petroc in 1066 and is listed among properties usurped from St Petroc (1,13 and 1,15; 4,22).

Tregona: Tregona (*Tregon*) was held in 1066 by St Petroc and is listed among the lands taken by the count of Mortain from the church of St Petroc. Thurstan the Sheriff holds it in 1086 of the count. The manor paid a sum in customary dues to the church (4,22 and pp. 71, 102).

Trevornick: Trevornick (*Trefornoc*) was held in 1066 by Edway (who could not be separated from the saint) of St Petroc and is listed among the lands taken by the count of Mortain from the church of St Petroc. Brian holds it in 1086 of the count. The manor paid a sum in customary dues to the church, but Exeter Domesday says that Brian takes these dues from the church (4,22 and pp. 71, 102).

Trenhale: Trenhale (*Trenhal*) was held in 1066 by Edwy (who could not be separated from the saint, according to Exeter Domesday) of St Petroc and is listed among the lands taken by the count of Mortain from the church of St Petroc. Brian holds it in 1086 of the count. The manor paid a sum in customary dues to the church, but Exeter

[4] See Picken 1990, pp. 271-2, for the identification of this manor.

[5] See Picken 1990, pp. 271-2, for the identification of this manor.

Domesday says that Brian takes these dues from the church (4,22 and pp. 71, 102).

Tolcarne: Tolcarne (*Talcarn*) was held in 1066 by Alfward (who could not be separated from the saint, according to Exeter Domesday) of St Petroc and is listed among the lands taken by the count of Mortain from the church of St Petroc. Alfsi holds it in 1086 of the count. The manor paid a sum in customary dues to the church, but Exeter Domesday says that Alfsi takes these dues from the church (4,22 and pp. 72, 102).

Tremore: Tremore (*Tremhor* or *Tremor*) was held in 1066 by St Petroc and is listed among the lands taken by the count of Mortain from the church of St Petroc. Thorkell holds it in 1086 of the Count. The manor paid a sum in customary dues to the church, but Exeter Domesday says that Thorkell takes these dues from the church (4,22 and pp. 72, 102-3).

Lancarffe: Lancarffe (*Lancharet, Nanchert* or *Nantchert*) was held in 1066 by Alfwold ("a thane who could not be separated from the saint," Exeter Domesday) of St Petroc. It is described as 'of the honour of St Petroc.' It also appears among lands held in 1066 by St Petroc (paying a sum in customary dues) and usurped by the count of Mortain. One virgate of land never paid tax. Nigel (who holds nine manors of the count of Mortain) holds it in 1086; according to Exeter Domesday Nigel takes the customary dues from the church (5,6,6; 4,22 and pp. 72, 103).

Treninnick: Treninnick (*Trinnonec*) was held in 1066 by St Petroc and is listed among the lands taken by the count of Mortain from the church of St Petroc. Roger holds it in 1086 of the count. The manor paid a sum in customary dues to the church, but Exeter Domesday says that Roger takes these dues from the church (4,22 and pp. 72, 103).

St Tudy: St Tudy (*Heglostudic*) was held in 1066 by St Petroc's, and paid by custom a sum to the church; the count of Mortain holds it in 1086. This manor appears only in Exeter Domesday (Exon. notes under 4,21 and pp. 71, 102).

<u>Customary payments to St Petroc in Domesday</u>

Carworgie: Carworgie (*Carewrge*) held in 1066 by Brictric and then Queen Matilda; held in 1086 of the king by Aiulf, it pays a small sum to St Petroc's by custom. The Exeter Domesday contains contradictory information, that the manor both pays the sum and also that it was paid but is now withheld (1,18 and pp. 66, 102).

<u>Lands otherwise associated with St Petroc in Domesday</u>

Pendavey: The manor of Pendavey (*Pendavid*) belonged to the manor of Blisland (*Glustone*) which was held by Earl Harold in 1066; Blisland is held by the king in 1086. Pendavey is held of the count of Mortain by Boia the priest ('of Bodmin,' according to Exeter Domesday) of the count of Mortain (1,6, 1,13 and pp. 65, 102).

<u>Unspecified lands</u>

One hide of land taken 'wrongfully' in 1066 by Earl Harold and restored by William after a judicial enquiry (4,21 and Exon. notes).

Devon[6]

Hollacombe: Hollacombe (*Holecome*) was held in 1066 by 'the priests of Bodmin'; they hold it in 1086 (51,15 and p. 528).

Newton St Petroc: Newton St Petroc (*Niwetone*) is held in 1086 by 'the priests of Bodmin' (51, 16 and p. 529).

These manors appear in Devon Exchequer under the rubric 'Lands of the King's Servants' and in Exeter Domesday under 'Lands of English Thanes' (Section 51; Exon. notes, section 51).

[6] All citations are from the Exchequer Domesday edited by Caroline and Frank Thorn, 1985 (vol. I), and appear under the relevant section number assigned by the editors. Extra information from the Exeter Domesday is cited according to the notes to the Exchequer version (vol. II) and to the Exoniensis version in the Victoria County History ([Exoniensis Domesday, Devon]).

Appendix II: Liturgy and Relics in Other English Houses

Liturgical Commemorations before 1200

West Country

1. A late eleventh century 'West County'[1] calendar (Cambridge University Library ms. Kk. V. 32, ff. 50-55b) contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[2] Wormald argues for a Glastonbury connection.[3]

2. A litany in an Exeter pontifical and benedictional of the second half of the eleventh century (London, BL Add. ms. 28188)[4] names Petroc.[5] The text of the Benedictional shows strong links with Winchester.[6]

3. A Psalter written at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century (London, BL Harley ms. 863)[7] contains a litany invoking St Petroc.[8]

4. An eleventh- or twelfth-century martyrology (Exeter Cathedral Library ms. 3518)[9] from Exeter includes St Petroc among the saints invoked.[10]

Somerset

5. A calendar of Wells (BL Cotton Ms. Vit.A.xviii, ff. 3-8b) dated AD 1061-1088 contains the addition of the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[11]

Dorset

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[1] Wormald 1934, p. 71.

[2] Wormald 1934, p. 77.

[3] Wormald 1934, p. vi.

[4] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 67.

[5] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 134.

[6] Hohler 1975, p. 73.

[7] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 74.

[8] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 198.

[9] Ordinale Exon, vol. 4, pp. 1-2. There is also a fourteenth-century copy of this; see below, note 43.

[10] Ordinale Exon, vol. 4, p. 40; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 165..

[11] Wormald 1934, p. 105.

6. A calendar of Sherborne (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 422, pp. 29-40), c. 1061, contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[12] It is similar to Glastonbury calendars.[13] Warren gives its provenance as Winchester;[14] Wormald describes it as from Sherborne with some modifications attributable to Winchester;[15] Michael Lapidge suggests that it was created at Winchester for the use of Sherborne.[16] St Petroc, however, does not appear in the litany in this manuscript.[17]

Hampshire

7. A Winchester calendar and litany c. 1060 (BL Arundel ms. 60, ff. 2-7b) contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc[18] and invokes St Petroc in the litany.[19] According to Lapidge the manuscript was composed "almost certainly at New Minster."[20]

8. A calendar from Winchester or Hyde Abbey (BL Cotton Ms. Vit. E.xviii, ff. 2-7b) contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[21]

Worcestershire

9. A later eleventh-century calendar (Oxford Bodl. Hatton ms. 113, ff. iii-viii^{v}), from perhaps Evesham or Worcester cathedral priory,[22] includes the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[23]

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[12] Wormald 1934, p. 189.

[13] Wormald 1934, p. vi.

[14] The Leofric Missal, pp. 271-272.

[15] Wormald 1934, p. vi.

[16] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 66.

[17] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, pp. 125-131.

[18] Wormald described it as copied from a Winchester litany of 988-1012 and having strong Glastonbury connections (1934, p. 147 and 1946, pp. 74-75). Grosjean also mentions this manuscript, although he erroneously gives the shelf mark as Arundel 50 ("Vies," p. 483, n. 2).

[19] "Vies," p. 483, n. 2; Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 144.

[20] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 68.

[21] Wormald 1934, p. 161. Wormald attributes it originally to New Minster but places it subsequently at Old Minster (1934, p. vi).

[22] Wormald 1934, p. vii.

[23] Wormald 1934, p. 203.

10. A mid-eleventh-century calendar (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 9, pp. 3-14), possibly originating at Worcester, contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc[24]

Suffolk

11. A calendar c. 1050 at Bury St Edmunds (Rome Bibl. Ap. Vat. Cod. Regin. Lat 12, ff. 7-12v) includes the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[25]

Lincolnshire

12. The calendar in a mid-eleventh-century psalter of Croyland (Oxford Bodl. Douce ms. 296, ff. 1-6v) includes not the June 4 feast but a May 23 feast of St Petroc.[26] St Petroc does not appear in the litany in this manuscript.[27]

Uncertain Provenance

13. The missal of Robert of Jumièges, Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 274 (Y6), perhaps written at Ely, Canterbury, Peterborough, or Winchester in the early eleventh century[28] was given by Robert, the then bishop of London, to the abbey of Jumièges between 1044 and 1051.[29] The calendar contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc. The litany in the missal, however, does not mention St Petroc.[30]

14. The 'Paris Psalter' (Paris BN ms. lat. 8824) dating to the eleventh century[31] from Glastonbury or Canterbury,[32] contains a litany naming St Petroc.[33]

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[24] Wormald 1934, p. 231.

[25] Wormald 1934, p. 245.

[26] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 166; Wormald 1934, p. 258. Lapidge dates this manuscript to the second quarter of the eleventh century (Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 78).

[27] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, pp. 235-39.

[28] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 82; Grosjean and Wormald view Ely as the most likely (Wormald 1934, pp. v-vi; "Vies," p. 133, n. 2); Duine and Leroquais suggest Winchester (Duine 1922, p. 66, no. XL; Leroquais 1924, vol. I, no. 40).

[29] The Leofric Missal, p. 280 and 275; The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, p. 14; Duine 1922, p. 66.

[30] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, pp. 270-72.

[31] Leroquais 1940-41, vol. II, no. 323.

[32] Lapidge suggests Glastonbury or Canterbury (Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 80; Grosjean suggests Glastonbury alone ("Vies," p. 483, n. 2). Certainly there are many Glastonbury saints in the litany.

[33] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 251.

15. A Psalter of the first half of the eleventh century (London, BL Cotton Ms. Galba A.xiv), perhaps from Winchester or Shaftsbury,[34] contains a litany naming St Petroc.[35]

16. An eleventh century calendar (BL Cotton Ms. Nero A.ii, ff. 3-8b), viewed by Wormald and Duine as perhaps from Wessex,[36] was seen by Bernard Muir as originally part of the above psalter (no. 15).[37] Muir argued for a Winchester provenance of this combined manuscript.[38] The calendar of this manuscript includes a May 23 feast of St Petroc.[39]

Liturgical Commemorations after 1200

West Country

17. A fourteenth-century calendar of the Augustinian Priory of Launceston, Cornwall,[40] contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc;[41] the saint also appears in the litany.[42]

18. A martyrology[43] and calendar[44] in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Exeter (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker ms. 93) mention St Petroc on June 4.

19. Bishop Grandisson of Exeter's fourteenth-century *Ordinale* (Exeter Cathedral Library ms. 3502)[45] mentions St Petroc in the calendar (June 4),[46] in the *Temporale* (among

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[34] Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 70.

[35] Wormald 1958, pp. 17-18; Anglo-Saxon Litanies, p. 166.

[36] Wormald 1934, p. 29; Duine 1922, p. 65.

[37] Pre-Conquest English Prayer Book, p. xii.

[38] Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book, pp. xiv-xv.

[39] Wormald 1934, p. 34; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 166; Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book, p. 7.

[40] Wormald 1938, p. 1.

[41] Wormald 1938, p. 7.

[42] Wormald 1938, p. 2; Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 165.

[43] Ordinale Exon, vol. 2, p. 407. This was copied from an eleventh-century Exeter martyrology (Exeter Cathedral Library ms. 3518); Ordinale Exon vol. 4, pp. 1-2.

[44] Ordinale Exon, vol. 1, p. xxxix.

[45] Ordinale Exon, vol. 1, p. viii.

the "simplicia festa"),[47] in the *Sanctorale* (June 4, with nine readings),[48] and in the *Proprium de sanctis* (June 4).[49] Bishop Grandisson's *Legenda* (Exeter Cathedral Library mss. 3504 and 3505) do not mention the saint.[50]

20. In the later fifteenth century William Worcestre saw the June 4 feast of St Petroc in calendars at the Cornish houses at Bodmin and St Michael's Mount, and at Tavistock Abbey in Devon.[51]

Somerset

21. A calendar in a Breviary of Muchelney Abbey (London, BL Addit. ms. 43405, ff. 1-6b), dated to c. 1300 and perhaps connected to Glastonbury,[52] contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[53]

22. A fragment of a fifteenth-century Breviary of Wells includes a collect for St Petroc.[54] Robinson describes the calendar of Wells as based on Salisbury but with added variations, including that of St Petroc who, Robinson suggests, was included because of his status as patron of Timberscombe in Somerset.[55]

23. The Sarum Breviary of 1531 includes the June 4 feast of St Petroc (as an addition) in its calendar;[56] St Petroc also appears in the litany *feria sexta in Quadragesima*.[57] This usage seems to be confined to York, Exeter, and Wells.[58] St Petroc does not

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[46] Ordinale Exon, vol. 1, p. xxxviii.

[47] Ordinale Exon, vol. 1, p. 16.

[48] Ordinale Exon, vol. 1, p. 227.

[49] Ordinale Exon, vol. 1, p. 348.

[50] Ordinale Exon, vol. 3.

[51] William Worcestre, Itineraries, pp. 88-89; 102-3; 112-113.

[52] Wormald 1939, vol. II, p. 91.

[53] Wormald 1939, vol. II p. 97.

[54] Doble 1960-70, pt. 4, p. 165; Robinson 1928, p. 137.

[55] Robinson 1928, p. 138. For Timberscombe see Chapter IV, page 227.

[56] Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, vol. I, under June 4.

[57] Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, vol. II, p. 259.

[58] Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, vol. III, "Index festivitatum sanctorum, etc.", xxxv.

appear in the Proprium Sanctorum.

Dorset

24. A calendar of Abbotsbury Abbey (London, BL Cotton Ms. Cleopatra B.ix, ff. 54b-60), dated to c. 1300 and perhaps influenced by Glastonbury and Winchester,[59] includes the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[60]

Hampshire

25. St Petroc is invoked in an late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century litany in the Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester (Oxford Bodl. Gough ms. liturg. 8).[61]

Wiltshire

26. A calendar from Malmesbury abbey (Oxford Bodl. ms. Rawl. liturg. g. 12 (SC 15758), ff. 95b-107), dated to c. 1521,[62] includes the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[63]

Oxford

27. According to Grosjean, a missal of Sarum usage (Cambridge, University Library Ff. iv. 44) of uncertain date, perhaps copied at Oxford for the diocese of Lincoln, includes St Petroc in the litany *Ordo visitationis infirmorum*.[64]

28. In a missal of Sarum usage of uncertain date the *Manuale* includes St Petroc in the litany *Ordo visitationis infirmorum* (B.L. ms. Royal 2.B.XI; according to Grosjean of the same provenance as no. 27.[65]

29. A missal (Paris Arsenal ms. 135) of Sarum usage but of uncertain provenance and dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century,[66] contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc in its calendar.[67] Grosjean argues that this manuscript, as well as nos. 27

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[59] Wormald 1939, vol. I, p. 1.

[60] Wormald 1939, vol. II, p. 7.

[61] The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, vol. 5. .)7 and vol. I, pp. ix-x; "Vies," p. 483, n. 2.

[62] Wormald 1939, vol. II, p. 75.

[63] Wormald 1939, vol. II, p. 84.

[64] "Vies," p. 483, n. 2.

[65] "Vies," p. 483 n. 2.

[66] The Sarum Missal, p. viii. Grosjean argues that the missal "reproduit l'état authentique de la liturgie de Sarum avant 1220" (1956, p. 482, n. 2).

[67] The Sarum Missal, p. 504.

and 28 were perhaps copied at Oxford for members of the university from the diocese of Exeter.[68] Thus Grosjean explains the appearance of the feast of St Petroc in centres distant from Cornwall.

London

30. A fourteenth-century calendar of St Paul's, London, includes a May 27 feast of St Petroc.[69]

Yorkshire

31. The Sarum Breviary of 1531, used at York, includes the St Petroc in the calendar and in the litany *feria sexta in Quadragesima*, but not in the Proprium Sanctorum.[70]
32. The *de communi* in the modern office of York contains the June 4 feast of St Petroc.[71]

Uncertain Provenance

33. St Petroc appears in the calendar of the Heures de Percy (London, BL Harley 1260), of Sarum usage but uncertain date and provenance; according to Grosjean the calendar is from a conflation with that of York.[72]

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[68] "Vies," p. 483, n. 2.

[69] "Vies," p. 132 n. 4.

[70] See above, no. 23.

[71] "Vies," p. 133; there is a rather puzzling inclusion of two York saints in the fourteenth-century calendar of Launceston Priory in Cornwall (Wormald 1938, p. 4).

[72] Grosjean also notes the appearance of St Petroc in Sarum litanies for Fridays of Lent in various breviaries and psalters ("Vies," p. 483 n. 2).

Relics

West Country

34. Relics of St Petroc are recorded at Exeter in four relic lists. The earliest is an Old English list; its script is dated to the later eleventh century,[73] but its composition has been dated to *c.* 1010[74] (Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Auct. D.2.17, ff. 8-14).[75] A slightly later Latin list, based perhaps on an earlier list,[76] was added to the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 579, f. 6-6v);[77] both this list and the Old English list may be based on the same relic-labels.[78] An eleventh-century copy of this latter list shows some additions (London, BL ms. Royal 6.B.vii, ff. 54v-55);[79] another Latin list, dating from the late twelfth century (Exeter Cathedral Library, ms. 2861) adds yet more information concerning St Petroc's relics.[80] All four lists name Athelstan as the donor of all or most of the relics.[81]

Somerset

35. By the thirteenth century Glastonbury was claiming 'a bone and vestments of St

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[73] Conner 1993, pp. 173-4.

[74] Förster 1943, p. 24; Conner 1993, p. 190.

[75] Conner 1993, pp. 184-5 and 190: ""Of Sancte Petroces banum ⁊ of his fexe ⁊ of his claðon."

[76] Conner 1993, p. 189.

[77] Conner 1993, pp. 189-191 and 196: De ossibus [et capillis, written above line] et de uestimentis sancti Petroci confessoris." It should be noted that Susan Pearce twice stated that the relics of St Petroc do *not* appear in this list (Pearce 1973, p. 111 and 1978, p. 136); this seems to be a mistake.

[78] Thomas 1974, pp. 95; Conner 1993, p. 172. For collections of relic labels see Laporte 1986. Laporte notes that thirty-nine labels of the 150 or so labels collected at Chelles date from before 800; the homogeneity of this part of the collection suggests to him the possibility that these represented a large gift, perhaps from Charlemagne (1986, p. 47). Thomas also notes the mention of labels in several Glastonbury relic lists and views labels as underlying a list from St Augustine's, Canterbury (1974, pp. 176, 181 and 223) .

[79] Conner 1993, pp. 191, 196 and 196, n, 79: "De ossibus et capillis et de uestimentis sancti Petroci confessoris."

[80] Conner 1993, pp. 171 and 204: "De ossibus et de capillis et de uestimentis et una costa integra sancti Petroci."

[81] Conner 1993, pp. 177, 192, 201.

Petroc (Trinity College, Cambridge, Ms. R.5.33, ff. 104-105v);[82] two fourteenth-century lists include relics of St Petroc. Of these, that found in John of Glastonbury's *Chronica* (Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Ashmole 790) lists 'vestments of St Petroc;'[83] the other (London, BL Cotton Ms. Titus D.vii, ff 2-13v) lists a 'bone of St Petroc and vestments.'[84] The Celtic saints in the Glastonbury lists seem connected to those claimed by Exeter Cathedral.[85] Moreover, the heading of one of the fourteenth-century lists attributes many relics to a donation by Athelstan and follows the Latin Exeter relic list very closely in its wording of this.[86]

Wiltshire

36. A list of relics (in English) in a mid-fifteenth-century processional of Salisbury Cathedral (Salisbury Cathedral Ms. 148) includes a relic of St Petroc.[87]

Hampshire

37. According to a twelfth-century (or later) list[88] in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey (London, BL Ms. Stowe 944) the house possessed relics of St Petroc before the Conquest.[89] Thomas suggests a Glastonbury context for the Celtic saints appearing here.[90]

Berkshire

38. A relic list in one of the cartularies of Reading Abbey (London, BL Ms. Egerton 3031,

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[82] Chronica sive historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus, vol. II, p. 450; Doble 1943-46, p. 86: "os de S. Petroco et de diversis vestimentis." Carley dated this list to the fourteenth century and Doble believed that it postdated that found in John of Glastonbury's *Chronica* (The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey, p. xlvi; Doble 1943-46, p. 86), but Thomas argues convincingly for a mid-thirteenth-century date (1974, p. 180).

[83] The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey, pp. 27-29: "de vestimentis Sancti Petroci confessoris."

[84] Thomas 1974, pp. 344 and 493; this list may have been used as a source for the *Chronica* (Thomas 1974, p. 185).

[85] Doble 1943-46, p. 87; Thomas 1974, p. 178.

[86] Thomas 1974, pp. 186 and n. 1, and 486.

[87] Ceremonies and Processions, p. 38; Thomas 1974, pp. 129, 346, and 448.

[88] Thomas 1974, pp. 193 and 195.

[89] Duine 1922, p. 280; Liber Vitae, p. 152; Biddle 1975, pp. 134 and p. 236, n. 64.

[90] Thomas 1974, p. 195.

ff. 6v-8), composed between the 1120s and 1190s,[91] includes St Petroc.[92]

Kent

38. The abbey of St Augustine's, Canterbury, claimed relics of St *Petrocius* (Cambridge, CCC Ms. 286, f. i) around the twelfth century.[93]

Essex

40. Waltham abbey included a bone of St Petroc in its thirteenth-century[94] relic list (London, BL Harley ms. 3776, ff. 31-35b).[95] The list includes the names of donors, and that of the relic of St Petroc is said to be Walter of Ghent.[96]

Shropshire

41. A list, possible twelfth-century, from the abbey of Shrewsbury includes a relic of St Petroc.[97]

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[91] Bethell 1972, p. 61.

[92] Bethell 1972, p. 66.

[93] Thomas 1974, pp. 342, 448; James 1912, vol. II, p. 55.

[94] Thomas 1974, p. 258.

[95] Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives, p. 165; The Early Charter of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, no. 637.

[96] Thomas 1974, p. 537.

[97] Thomas 1974, pp. 227 and 229; Owen and Blakeway 1825, vol. II, p. 43, from an unknown manuscript.

Appendix III: Lands of Roland de Dinan in the Pipe Rolls[1]

Hartland

Hartland first appears as Roland's possession when it escheated to the king in 1167-8;[2] it remained in custody for part of the next year.[3] However, in this year also (1168-9) the men of Hartland were partially excused payment of an aid to the king on behalf of Olivier de Dinan [of Dinham];[4] Olivier had appeared under similar circumstances the previous year under the manor of Nutwell.[5] A year later Hartland was still described as "terra Rollandi de Dinan,"[6] but after this there is no record of Hartland until 1206, when the daughters of Josselin de Dinan disputed Olivier of Dinham's possession of the manor.[7]

Ginge

According to the Pipe Rolls, Roland possessed Ginge (*Gainz*) in Berkshire from 1157-8 to his death[8] and paid several fines associated with it.[9] Ginge had belonged to his father

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[1] see also the table assembled by Jones (1986, pp. 232-3).

[2] PR 14 Henry II, p. 125. See Chapter V, pages 282ff for the escheat of most of Roland's estates in this year.

[3] PR 15 Henry II, p. 48.

[4] PR 15 Henry II, p. 50.

[5] see below, page 347.

[6] PR 16 Henry II, pp. 97-98. Here the sheriff has received a fine from Hartland and has applied this sum to the maintenance of the king's castle and houses in Exeter; the profundity or significance of this connection is unclear.

[7] PR 8 John, p. 226.

[8] PR 2,3,4, Henry II, p. 123; PR 5 Henry II, p. 36; PR 6 Henry II, p. 48; PR 7 Henry II, p. 52; PR 8 Henry II, p. 43; PR 9 Henry II, p. 51; PR 10 Henry II, p. 42; PR 11 Henry II, p. 73; PR 12 Henry II, p. 120; PR 13 Henry II, p. 5; PR 14 Henry II, p. 200; PR 15 Henry II, p. 78; PR 16 Henry II, p. 69; PR 17 Henry II, p. 88; PR 18 Henry II, p. 13; PR 19 Henry II, p. 63; PR 20 Henry II, p. 112; PR 21 Henry II, p. 133; PR 22 Henry II, p. 131; PR 23 Henry II, p. 47; PR 24 Henry II, p. 102; PR 25 Henry II, p. 85; PR 26 Henry II, p. 38; PR 27 Henry II, p. 137; PR

Alain in 1156-7.[10] By 1186-7 Roland's heir Alain de Dinan-Vitré was in possession of this manor.[11]

Meon

From 1160-61 to his death (and even after)[12] Roland had land in Meon in Hampshire,[13] seemingly without interruption, although in 1169-70 unnamed land in Hampshire appears not under 'lands granted,' as it usually did, but as a fine under 'forest clearing.'[14] In addition to these entries several mention fines excused[15] and paid.[16]

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28 Henry II, p. 104; PR 29 Henry II, p. 134; PR 30 Henry II, p. 53; PR 31 Henry II, p. 21; PR 32 Henry II, p. 43). From PR 26 Henry II to PR 31 Henry II the heading 'lands granted' has been omitted, although the entries are in other respects similar to those of the previous years. Although this has the effect of listing these estates under 'fixed alms' rather than under 'lands granted,' the latter designation is here applied.

[9] These cryptic entries appear under the heading 'Faringdon' (a sub-grouping in Berkshire), but would seem to form part of a separate account of miscellaneous fines payable in the county as a whole (PR 11 Henry II, p. 75; PR 14 Henry II, p. 201). Jones, however, lists the manor of Faringdon as a Dinan possession on the strength of these entries (1986, pp. 232-3).

[10] PR 2,3,4, Henry II, p. 80.

[11] PR 33 Henry II, p. 189.

[12] Roland died some time between 1185 and 1187 (Jones 1986, p. 234). From 1186-7 his heir Alain de Dinan-Vitré had his estate in Ginge (PR 33 Henry II, p. 189), but the land in Meon continued to be recorded under Roland's name for two more years, when it disappeared from the Pipe Rolls (PR 33 Henry II, p. 202; PR 34 Henry II, p. 180).

[13] PR 7 Henry II, p. 53; PR 8 Henry II, p. 38; PR 9 Henry II, p. 57; PR 10 Henry II, p. 27; PR 11 Henry II, p. 45; PR 12 Henry II, p. 105; PR 13 Henry II, p. 195, PR 14 Henry II, p. 191; PR 15 Henry II, p. 159; PR 17 Henry II, p. 42; PR 18 Henry II, p. 85; PR 19 Henry II, p. 52; PR 20 Henry II, p. 138; PR 21 Henry II, p. 202; PR 22 Henry II, p. 201; PR 23 Henry II, p. 178; PR 24 Henry II, p. 113; PR 25 Henry II, p. 109; PR 26 Henry II, p. 149; PR 27 Henry II, p. 137; PR 28 Henry II, p. 148; PR 29 Henry II, p. 148; PR 30 Henry II, p. 87; PR 31 Henry II, p. 223; PR 32 Henry II, p. 180; PR 33 Henry II, p. 202; PR 34 Henry II, p. 180.

[14] PR 16 Henry II, p. 125.

[15] PR 13 Henry II, p. 183; PR 27 Henry II, p. 134; PR 29 Henry II, p. 145) This latter involved Ranulf de Glanville in the same way as the arrangement noted in the entry for the same year for Northamptonshire (see under Northamptonshire).

Roland's father Alain had held unspecified land in Hampshire in 1158-9.[17]

Other lands

Northamptonshire

Land in Northamptonshire seems to have escheated to the Crown in 1160-61;[18] this is probably Burton. By 1162-3 a writ of the king to Roland excused the payment of a fine of the men of Burton in Northamptonshire by the king; later Rolls also show fines excused to and paid by Roland with reference to this site.[19] Roland lost Burton in 1167-8,[20] although in this same year the town, described as "the vill of Burton of Rolland de Dinan" owed and partially paid an aid for the marriage of Henry's daughter in this county.[21] In the next year Burton was still in the hands of the king.[22] By 1169-70 Roland seemed to have recovered Burton, for he paid a fine for 'forest clearing' in Northamptonshire;[23] presumably this is Burton, the Dinan family's sole estate in this county.[24] Still later, in 1175-6, Roland was excused payment of a similar fine in the county,[25] an exemption granted in following

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[16] PR 31 Henry II, p. 211; PR 32 Henry II, p. 171.

[17] PR 5 Henry II, p. 49.

[18] PR 7 Henry II, p. 34.

[19] PR 9 Henry II, p. 38; PR 11 Henry II, p. 96; PR 13 Henry II, p. 119.

[20] PR 14 Henry II, p. 51.

[21] PR 14 Henry II, p. 54.

[22] PR 15 Henry II, p. 73.

[23] PR 16 Henry II, p. 23.

[24] Jones 1986, p. 233.

[25] PR 22 Henry II, p. 49.

years.[26] In 1182-3 Roland was excused payment of a fine 'pro defalta' by a writ of Ranulf de Glanville (the king's justiciar) in Northamptonshire.[27] By 1190 Roland's heir, Alain de Dinan-Vitré, held Burton.[28]

Irish scutage, levied in 1172, was unpaid by Robert Foliot (in Northamptonshire), and by 1173-4 part of the debt (on the 'old enfeoffment') was due from Roland, who is described in the Pipe Roll as having these fees from the king.[29] This debt was still unpaid by the time of the next Pipe Roll, and an additional debt of this scutage under the 'new enfeoffment' (since 1135) was added to Roland's account.[30] Finally, in 1175-6 Roland paid the debt for the new enfeoffment and was excused payment of the amount for the old enfeoffment by the king's writ.[31] Roland's only appearance in the *Carta baronum* is under the new enfeoffment of Robert Foliot in Northamptonshire;[32] his obligation under the old enfeoffment would seem to have been excused or corrected.

Cambridgeshire

Unnamed land in Cambridgeshire seems to have escheated to the king in 1160-1;[33]

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[26] PR 24 Henry II, p. 54; PR 27 Henry II, p. 72.

[27] PR 29 Henry II, p. 123.

[28] PR 1 Richard I, p. 30.

[29] PR 20 Henry II, p. 53. See Keefe 1983, pp. 17-19 for the significance of the term 'old enfeoffment' and pp. 41-2 for the Irish scutage.

[30] PR 21 Henry II, p. 42.

[31] PR 22 Henry II, p. 48.

[32] The Red Book of the Exchequer, vol. I, p. 332. See below, however, under Sussex.

[33] PR 7 Henry II, p. 46.

by 1167-8 Roland had again lost unspecified land in this county.[34] This is presumably Stanton (Long Stanton St Michael),[35] for in this year under the same county there is a record of the payment by 'the men of Stanton of Roland' of the aid of the marriage of Henry's daughter.[36] Land in Cambridgeshire was still in the hands of the king in the next year.[37]

Hertfordshire

In 1167-8 Roland was fined at Wymondley in Hertfordshire.[38] There is no further record in the Pipe Rolls of this estate under Roland's authority, although from 1190-93 Roland's heir, Alain de Dinan-Vitré is described as having disseised another baron of land in either Essex or Hertfordshire.[39]

Sussex

Wepham in Sussex was lost to the king in 1167-8[40] and in 1168-9 was still in custody of the Crown, although the entry in the Roll seems to suggest that it was later at least partly returned, stating that the sheriff sold the stock of this manor, "antequam dominus rex redidisset eam Rollando."[41] In the Roll of Honours of 1187-8 Roland is listed under the scutage of knights of the Honour of Arundel in Pedewurde.[42] This is Petworth in Sussex,

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[34] PR 14 Henry II, p. 105.

[35] Jones 1986, p. 232.

[36] PR 14 Henry II, p. 105.

[37] PR 15 Henry II, p. 144.

[38] PR 14 Henry II, p. 44.

[39] PR 2 Richard I, p. 110; PR 3 and 4 Richard I, pp. 28 and 171; PR 5 Richard I, p. 4.

[40] PR 14 Henry II, p. 193.

[41] PR 15 Henry II, p. 56.

[42] PR 34 Henry II, p. 3.

which was in the hands of the Crown under Henry I, but formed part of the property of the Percy family of Northumberland from the mid-twelfth century; it lies within the Rape of Arundell and was held of the earls of Arundell by knight service).[43] Roland's possession of knights' fees under the earl of Arundell probably provides the context for an entry in the 1167-8 Pipe Roll: in this year the sheriff states that he has received payment from the fee of Wepham of Roland for the service of two knights "quos [Comes de Arundell] clamat sed Rolland negat."[44] A later Roll states that Roland did not submit a *cartum* in Sussex as he should have; here Roland would seem to be a tenant-in-chief.[45]

Dorset and Somerset

Roland lost unnamed land in Dorset in 1160-1.[46] In 1167-8 Gussage (and chattel) in Dorset[47] and Corton Denham and Buckland Denham in Somerset[48] escheated. The loss of these lands continued through 1168-9, with unnamed land in either Dorset or Somerset, or both in custody of the Crown.[49] Yet by 1206, the daughters of Josselin de Dinan attempted to exert their authority over Buckland Denham against Olivier of Dinham.[50]

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[43] Brenan 1902, vol. I, p. 14; The Petworth House Archives, vol. I, p. vii; Domesday Book: Sussex, note on the Rapes; Elwes and Robinson 1876, p. 167.

[44] There is no clear indication of who ultimately rendered this payment (PR 14 Henry II, p. 194). This also appears in the exchequer records for 14 Henry II, where Roland is given as "Radulfus de Dunan" (The Red Book of the Exchequer, vol. I, p. 47).

[45] PR 18 Henry II, p. 132; The Red Book of the Exchequer, vol. I, p. 58 (Sussex scutage of 18 Henry II). See also Keefe 1983, p. 48.

[46] PR 7 Henry II, p. 48.

[47] PR 14 Henry II, p. 140.

[48] PR 14 Henry II, p. 140.

[49] PR 15 Henry II, p. 2.

[50] PR 8 John, p. 226.

Devonshire

The manor of Nutwell in Devonshire, given to Marmoutier in 1122 by Geoffroy I de Dinan but leased back to the family,[51] escheated from Roland in 1167-8.[52] However, Olivier obtained it in the same year: later the aid of Matilda's marriage was paid by 'the men of Nutwell of Olivier de Dinan [of Dinham].'[53]

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[51] Jones 1986, p. 224.

[52] PR 14 Henry II, p. 125.

[53] PR 14 Henry II, p. 131.

Appendix IV: Dinan-Montafilants and England[1]

In addition to the cross-Channel Dinans, Dinan-Vitrés, and Dinhams, yet another branch of the Dinan family, the Dinan-Montafilants, can be seen to share this interest in English possessions. In this case, however, the English interest is the more striking, as the connection between these Dinans and those having held estates in England is relatively distant. Nevertheless, during a period of Anglo-Breton cooperation these Dinans at the least shared in the endowment of Breton barons with lands and pensions in England, many perhaps based on estates previously held by relatives.

This securely 'Breton' branch of the Dinan family originated with Roland I de Dinan-Montafilant, the son of Geoffroy II de Dinan and thus brother of Olivier III[2] (and thus also nephew to Olivier of Dinham, the founder of the Devonshire branch). This Roland acquired through his wife significant possessions along the northern Breton coast, west of Saint-Malo, in addition to his own estates in Poudouvre, near Dinan.[3] The *floruit* of Roland I de Dinan-Montafilant is difficult to establish,[4] but among the Breton barons who witnessed a charter of

[1] This section is very much based on the 1230 letters patent of Henry III, subsequently confirmed in Brittany; I thank Oliver Padel, who originally drew to my attention the *inspeximus* (and thus the original grant) which occurs among the Arundell papers in the Cornwall Record Office (Truro, Cornwall County Record Office, AR 37/1).

[2] Dunoyer de Segonzac 1986, p. 240.

[3] These he obtained from his brother, Olivier III de Dinan, who died without heirs (Dunoyer de Segonzac 1986, p. 240).

[4] Dunoyer de Segonzac describes Roland as the son of Geoffroy II de Dinan; Geoffroy is thought to have died in 1167 (Métayer 1986, p. 215) or 1180 (Jones 1987, p. 16), but Dunoyer de Segonzac and Jones date Roland's death almost one hundred years later in 1266 (Dunoyer de Segonzac 1986, p. 238; Jones 1987, p. 16). As Roland I is thought to have succeeded his brother Olivier III de Dinan as vicomte de Poudouvre in 1199 (Dunoyer de Segonzac 1986, p. 240), an earlier date for the former's death seems plausible. This would place him well within the 1230 date of the letters patent. Jones, it should be noted, gives the date of death of Roland I's son Geoffroy III de Dinan-Montafilant, as 1266 at the latest and that of Geoffroy III de Dinan-

Pierre Mauclerc, duke of Brittany, in 1225, there is a Roland de Dinan, probably Roland I.[5]

Thirteenth-century politics pitted, for a short time, Henry III of England and Pierre Mauclerc, duke of Brittany, against the Capetian kings of France, and by 1229 Mauclerc had become the vassal and ally of Henry III. By the early thirteenth century the Breton duchy was again in a minority situation;[6] finally Arthur, the son of duchess Constance and Geoffroy son of Henry II was captured and killed by John.[7] The Breton barons and bishops gathered at Vannes in 1203 and pledged fealty to the third husband of Constance, Gui de Thouars, and designated as heir to the duchy the daughter of Constance and Gui, Alix, over Aliénor, daughter of Constance and Geoffroy.[8] The heiress Alix was ultimately married in 1213 to a Capetian prince, Pierre de Dreux or Mauclerc.[9]

Pierre Mauclerc was a Capetian vassal and relative; with his marriage to Alix, "the transfer from Angevin to Capetian rule was finally completed."[10] However, Mauclerc was, as Jones noted both in 1990 and 1991, "one of the most ambitious of all Capetian princes...that in the end the Capetians did not regret even more the day marriage gave Pierre

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Montafilant's son (Roland I's grandson) Roland II de Dinan-Montafilant as 1306 (Jones 1987, pp. 16-17); there does not seem to be a generation missing in this list, but the extremely late date of Roland I's death is odd. The "Rollandus de Dinan" appearing in documents dated 1276 and 1279 (Mémoires, vol. I, cols. 1040 and 1048-9) must be Roland II de Dinan-Montafilant; it is worth noting that the epithet used is 'de Dinan' and not 'de Dinan-Montafilant.'

[5] Mémoires, vol. I, col. 854. This is the foundation charter of Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier.

[6] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 96.

[7] Jones 1990, p. 10.

[8] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 102.

[9] Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 104; Jones 1990, p. 11. The original choice for Alix's husband had been Henri, son of Alain who is usually known as baron d'Avougour or of Penthièvre, and who was related to the old ducal family of Alain III and Eudes of Penthièvre.

[10] Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 11; Chédeville and Tonnerre 1987, p. 104.

the duchy," he comments, "was largely thanks to the traditional fractiousness of the Breton nobility, the limited period during which Pierre legally held the duchy...and his own recklessness."[11]

With the death of Philippe Augustus in 1222 and the accession of Louis VIII, Mauclerc's fidelity to the Capetians waned. Mauclerc had participated in the Capetian expedition to England of 1216, "officiellement pour aider les barons anglais révoltés contre la tyrannie de leur souverain" according to Leguay and Martin.[12] Soon after, however, he entered into an Anglo-Breton "rapprochement" with Henry III of England;[13] an important part of this continuing relationship between Mauclerc and the English Crown was the Honour of Richmond, which was mostly granted to Mauclerc.[14] Henceforth, although he was nominally faithful to the Capetian king, Mauclerc increasingly turned to England and Henry III: in 1229 Mauclerc did homage for the Breton duchy to Henry III of England.

In May 1230 Henry III and his army landed in Brittany;[15] king and army met May 9th at Dinan.[16] There, Henry made various arrangements, and a safe-conduct for the inhabitants of Dinan was signed by Mauclerc, "pour la première fois...non comme duc de Bretagne, mais comme conseiller du roi, officier de sa cour," as Levron points out.[17] At

[11] Jones 1990, p. 12; Jones in Galliou and Jones 1991, p. 199.

[12] Leguay and Martin 1982, p. 30.

[13] Leguay and Martin 1982, p. 31.

[14] Painter 1969, pp. 15-17; Levron 1930, nos. 26 and 49.

[15] Levron 1935, p. 110.

[16] Levron 1935, pp. 110-11.

[17] Levron 1935, p. 111.

Nantes, many Breton barons came to pay homage to Henry III.[18] In June Louis IX and French barons declared the Breton duchy forfeit;[19] some Bretons, André III de Vitré of the "traditionally francophile" Vitrés,[20] for example, joined the French king.[21] Many others remained with Mauclerc and Henry III, and Levron's contention that the Bretons viewed the English king more favourably than the French is, despite Levron's own clearly Bretonist perspective,[22] reasonable: Levron suggests, not implausibly, that these Bretons may have recalled English estates once possessed by their ancestors (certainly the Honour of Richmond was a potent incentive to Pierre Mauclerc),[23] and may have hoped to gain at least some profit from the English king.[24] This was not an unreasonable expectatio Henry III was to grant lands and pensions to several Breton barons before he left Britta late October.[25]

Among these grants is one documented in letters patent of Hen d 1230, in which Henry promised to a *Rolandus de Dynan* 100 marks yearly from 12 replaced

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[18] Levron 1935, p. 112.

[19] Levron 1930, nos. 143-4. Painter notes, however, that "the impressiveness of [this pronouncement] is greatly deflated...when one examines in detail the list of barons who issued it...a fairly feeble group of prelates and barons" (1969, pp. 69-70).

[20] Painter 1969, p. 67.

[21] Levron 1930, no., 145; Levron 1935, p. 114. The lords of Fougères and Léon also paid homage to Louis IX (Leguay and Martin 1982, p. 33); Morice, it should be noted, gives a much longer list of Breton barons paying homage to the French king (Morice 1750-56, vol. I, p. 162).

[22] see, for example, Levron 1935, p. 126.

[23] In 1215 John had promised Richmond and all its appurtenances to Mauclerc should he come to his aid with armies in England (Levron 1930, no. 26); in 1218 Mauclerc agreed to seek to obtain only those Richmond fiefs which Henry III had granted to him (Levron 1930, no. 4

[24] Levron 1935, p. 115.

[25] Painter 1969, p. 72. See also Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, vol. II, pp. 403-11.

by a grant of land in England to that value from 1231.[26] Roland I de Dinan-Montafilant is the most likely candidate for this Roland de Dinan (and for the Roland de Dinan who witnessed Mauclerc's 1225 donation): among the English Devonshire Dinhams descended from Olivier of Dinham the names Oliver, Geoffrey, and John predominate; no Roland is known.[27] The Dinan-Bécherel (and later Dinan-Vitré) branch seems to have no documented Roland after that involved in the retrieval of St Petroc's relics,[28] an obvious consciousness of their position as Roland's descendants notwithstanding.[29] Although an undocumented Roland in either the Devon Dinham or the Anglo-Breton Dinan-Vitré branch is certainly possible,[30] it is noteworthy that the Dinan-Montafilant branch of the Dinans seems to have seized upon the name Roland, producing no less than five of these from the early thirteenth to mid fifteenth centuries.[31]

According to Levron, the grants made to the Breton barons by Henry III concerned the

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[26] Patent Rolls. Henry III, vol. II, p. 407.

[27] Chope 1918, *passim*; Jones 1986, pp. 234-5.

[28] Leah Shopkow notes the popularity of the name Roland in the later twelfth century, "because of the growing popularity of the Chanson de Roland" (1984, p. 494, n. 108).

[29] See Chapter V, page 274.

[30] An otherwise unknown Dinan (Chope 1918, p. 433, n. 4), seemingly attached to Devonshire, appears in several Pipe Rolls: a Hugo de Dinan appears in Devon over several years in the 1160s (PR 13 Henry II, p. 172; PR 14 Henry II, p. 135; PR 15 Henry II, p. 53; PR 22 Henry II, p. 147; PR 23 Henry II, p. 7). The *Cartae baronum* of 1166 show among the *milites* of Willelmus de Brahosa (of the Honour of Barnstaple, in Devonshire) Hugo de Dinham under the old enfeoffment (Red Book, vol. I, p. 259). A Cornish Willelmus de Dinan appears in the records of a royal assize held at Launceston in 1201 (Pleas Before the King or his Justiciars, vol. II, no. 388), and a Walter de Dinan occurs in the Minister's accounts of the earldom of Cornwall for 1296-97 under Helstone (Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, vol. II, p. 231). Some of these must represent men from the city of Dinan.

[31] Dunoyer de Segonzac 1986, pp. 238-9.

restitution (or partial restitution) of English lands previously held.[32] As the land granted to Roland, valued at 100 marks, was apparently never handed over, there is no indication where it would have been situated.[33] It may be worth noting that the Dinan-Montafilant branch shared a common ancestor with the Devonshire Dinhams, Olivier II de Dinan; more significant perhaps is their descent from Olivier of Dinham's brother Geoffroy II de Dinan: Geoffroy II, as noted above,[34] held land in Devonshire near that of his brother.

The grant of 1230 was inspected by three Breton abbots in 1262.[35] The obvious Breton interest in the grant not only supports the identification of Roland de Dinan with Roland I de Dinan-Montafilant, but emphasises the enduring potential of cross-Channel lordship. Even at this remove, it was both possible and even useful to conceive of Breton estates as spanning the Channel, albeit quite possibly in an extremely temporary fashion. It seems very likely that the Roland de Dinan to whom the donation was made was of the Dinan-Montafilant family; certainly this grant of land in England was made within a securely Breton context, and for securely Breton purposes.[36]

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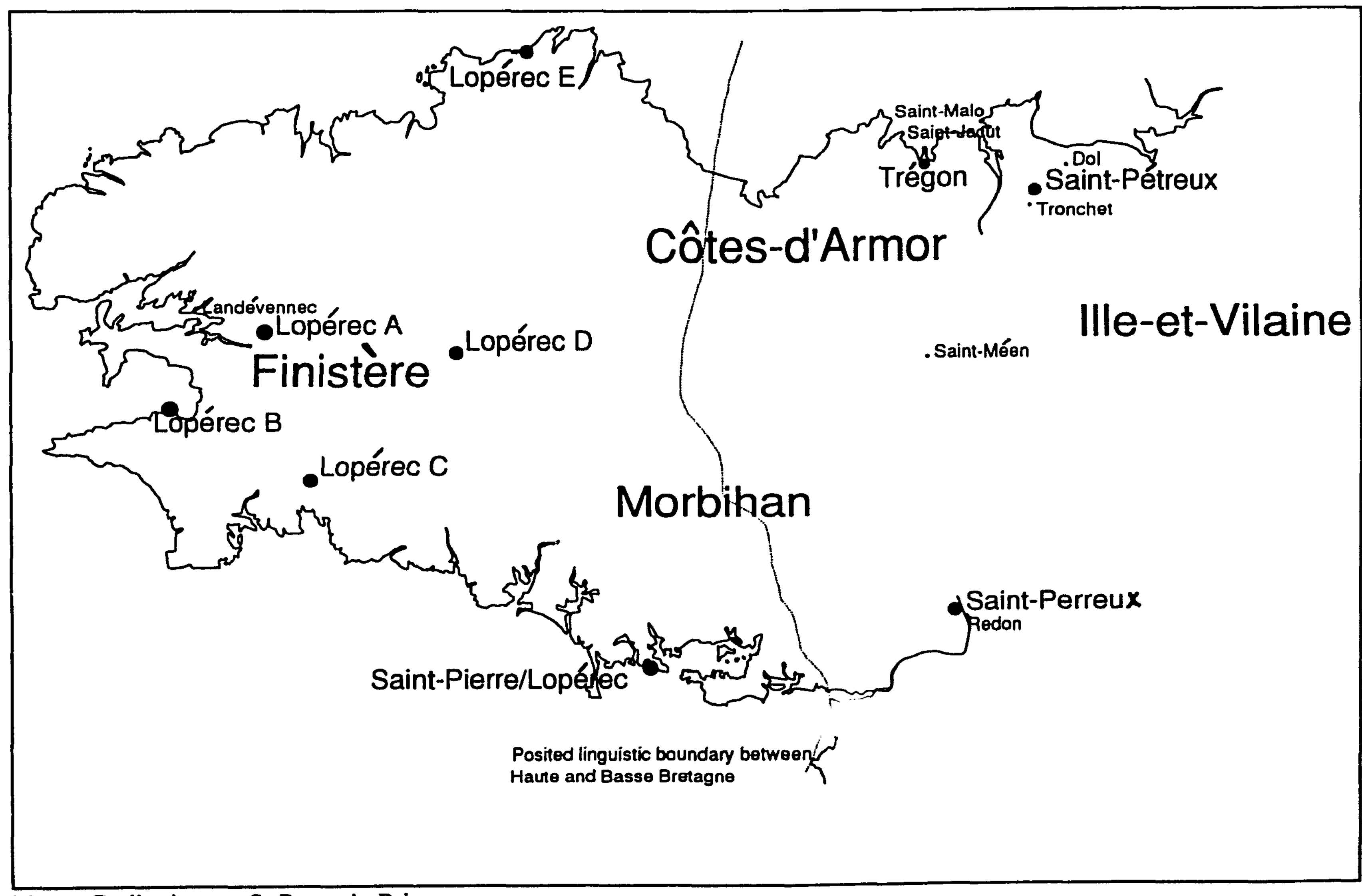
[32] Levron 1935, p. 121.

[33] Letter from Oliver Padel, 20 January 1996. The Patent Rolls of Henry III in the next few years show no sign of land passing to Roland; another promise of money and then land, made in similar terms to another Breton baron, the vicomte (Alain) of Rohan (Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, vol. II, pp. 406-7), shows a similar result.

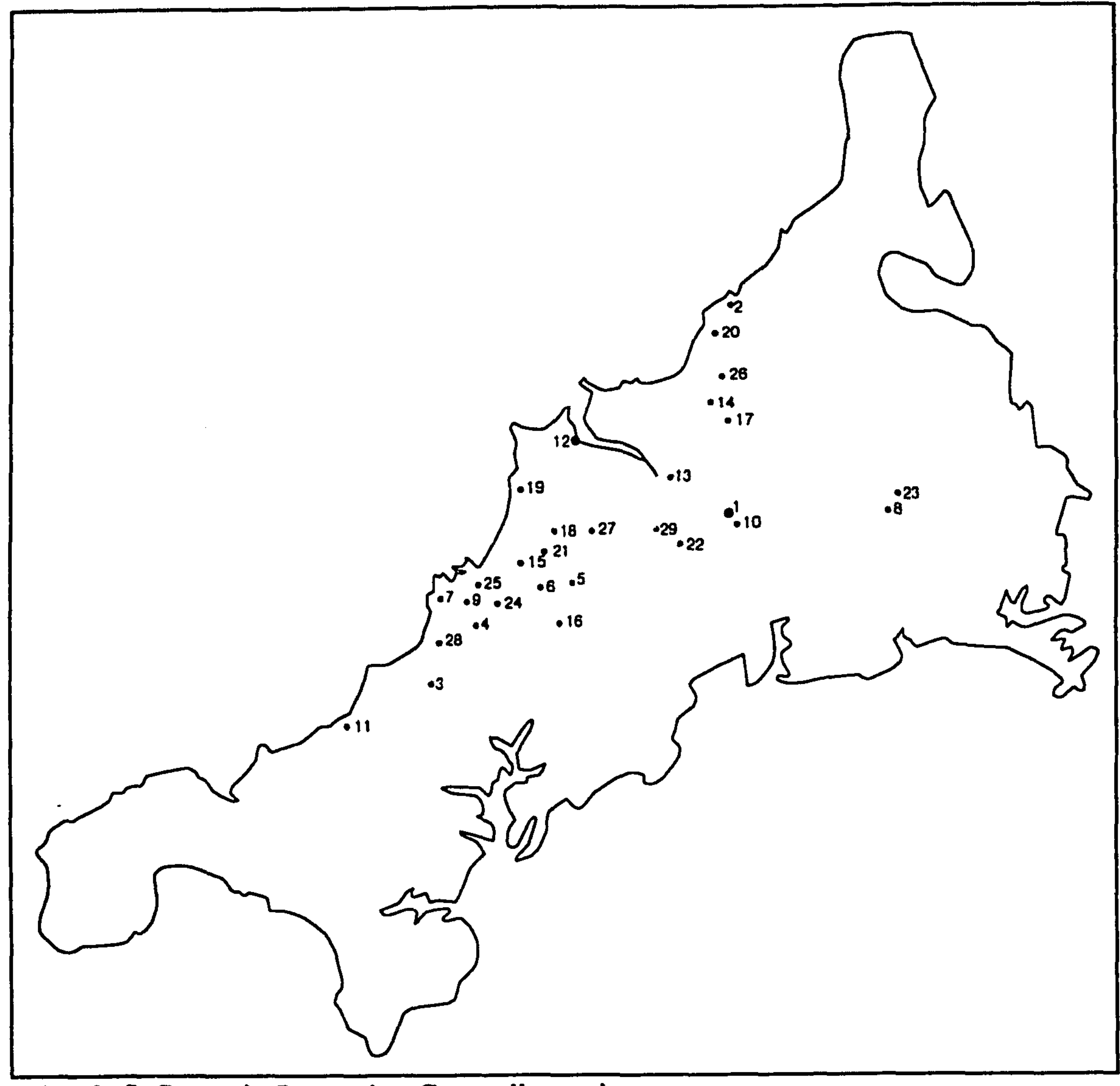
[34] above, page 264.

[35] Truro, Cornwall County Record Office, AR 37/1.

[36] The grant to the Breton Roland de Dinan is certainly not unique: Levron names Alain de Rohan, Henri d'Avaugour, and Prigent, seneschal of Léon as other beneficiaries of similar grants (1935, pp. 121-2).



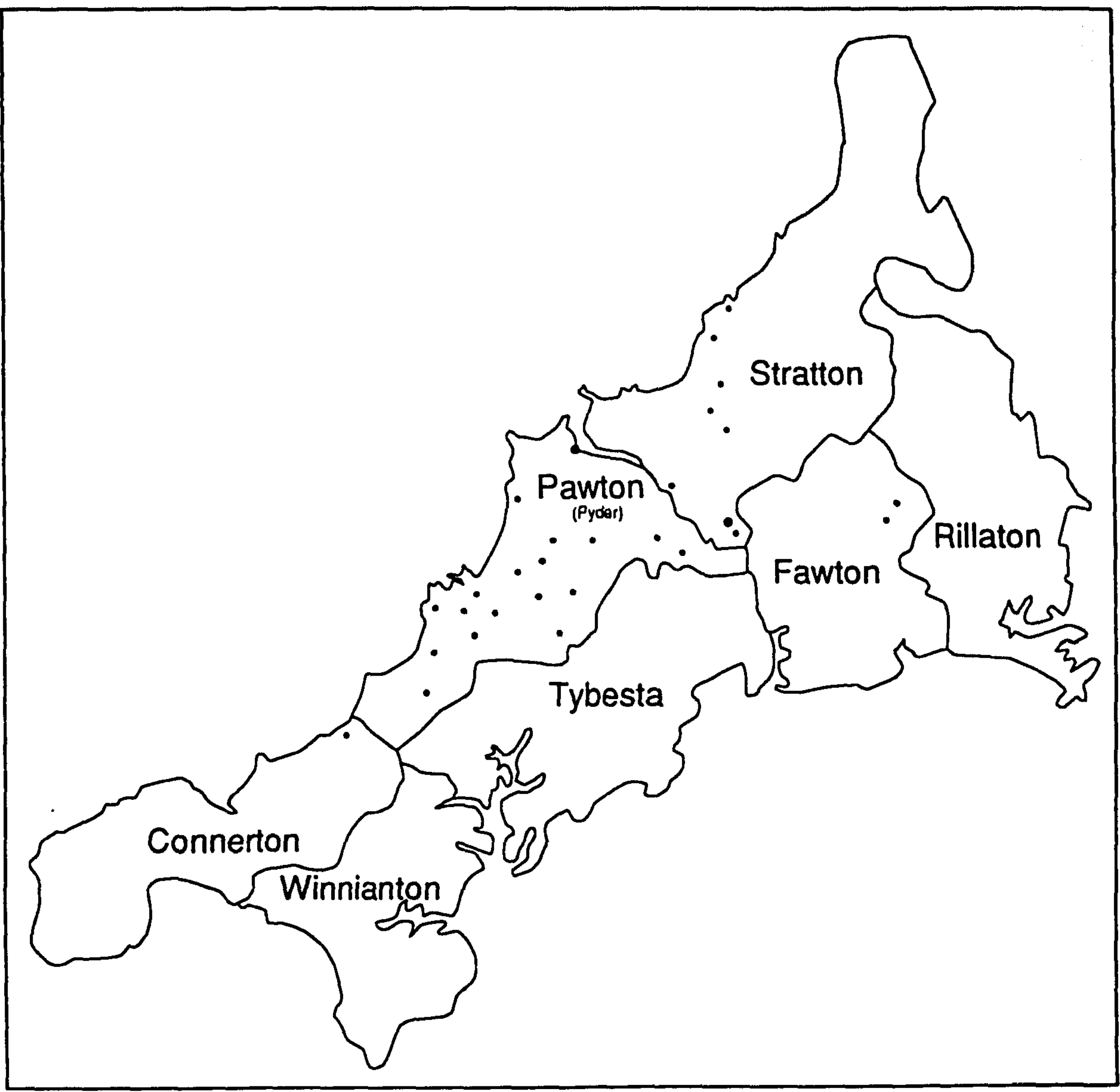
Map 1--Dedications to St Petroc in Brittany



Map 2--St Petroc in Domesday Cornwall, part i

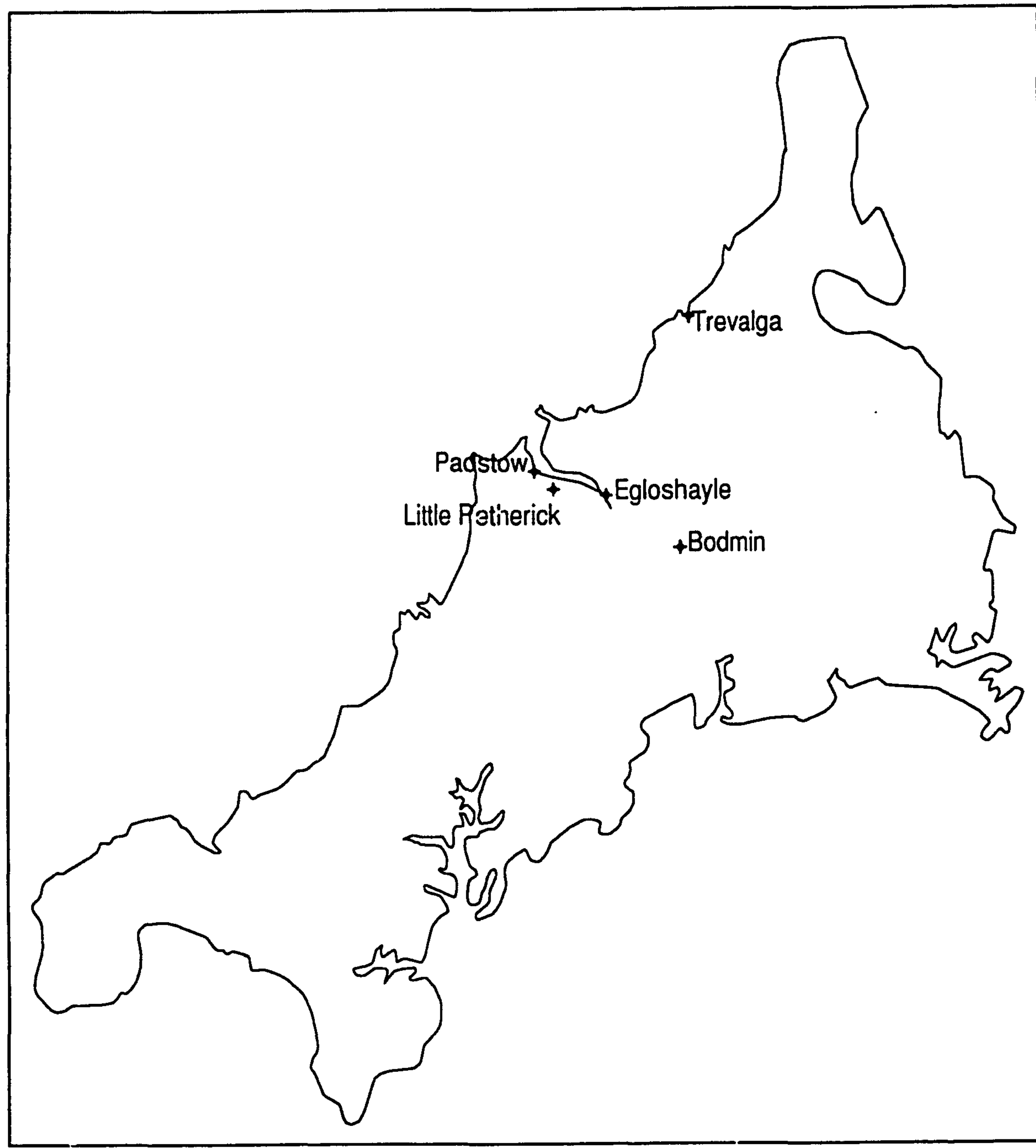
1: Bodmin
2: Bossiney
3: Callestick
4: Cargoll
5: Carworgie
6: Coswarth
7: Ellenglaze
8: Fursnewth
9: Halwyn
10: Lancarffe
11: Nancecuke
12: Padstow
13: Pendavey
14: Polroad
15: Rialton
16: St Enoder
17: St Tudy
18: Tolcarne
19: Tregona
20: Treknow
21: Treloy
22: Tremore
23: Trengale
24: Trenhale
25: Treninnick
26: Trevilly
27: Trevornick
28: Tywarnhayle
29: Withiel

Based on maps in Domesday Book: Cornwall.

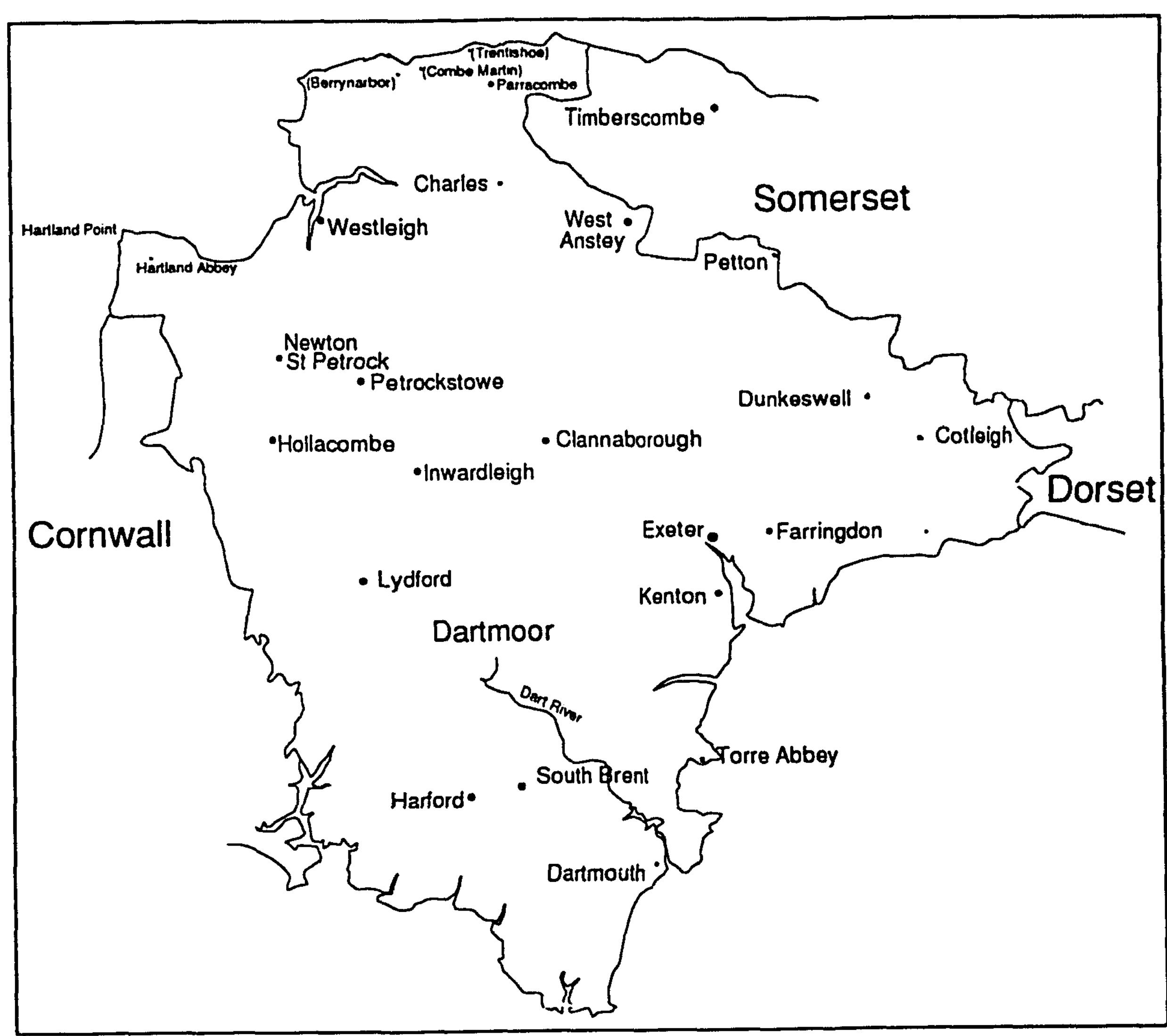


Map 3-- St Petroc in Domesday Cornwall, part ii

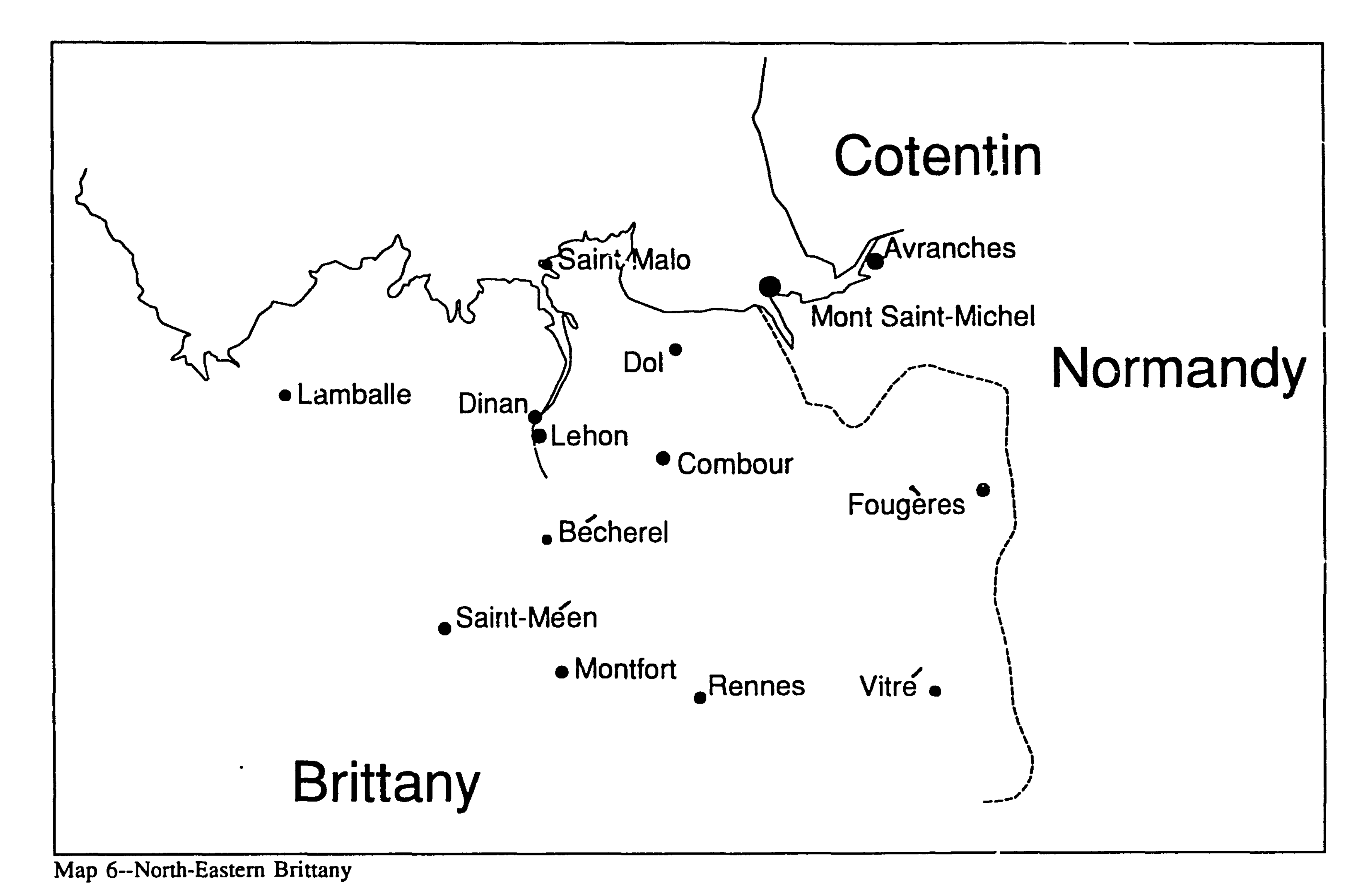
Based on maps in Domesday Book, Cornwall.



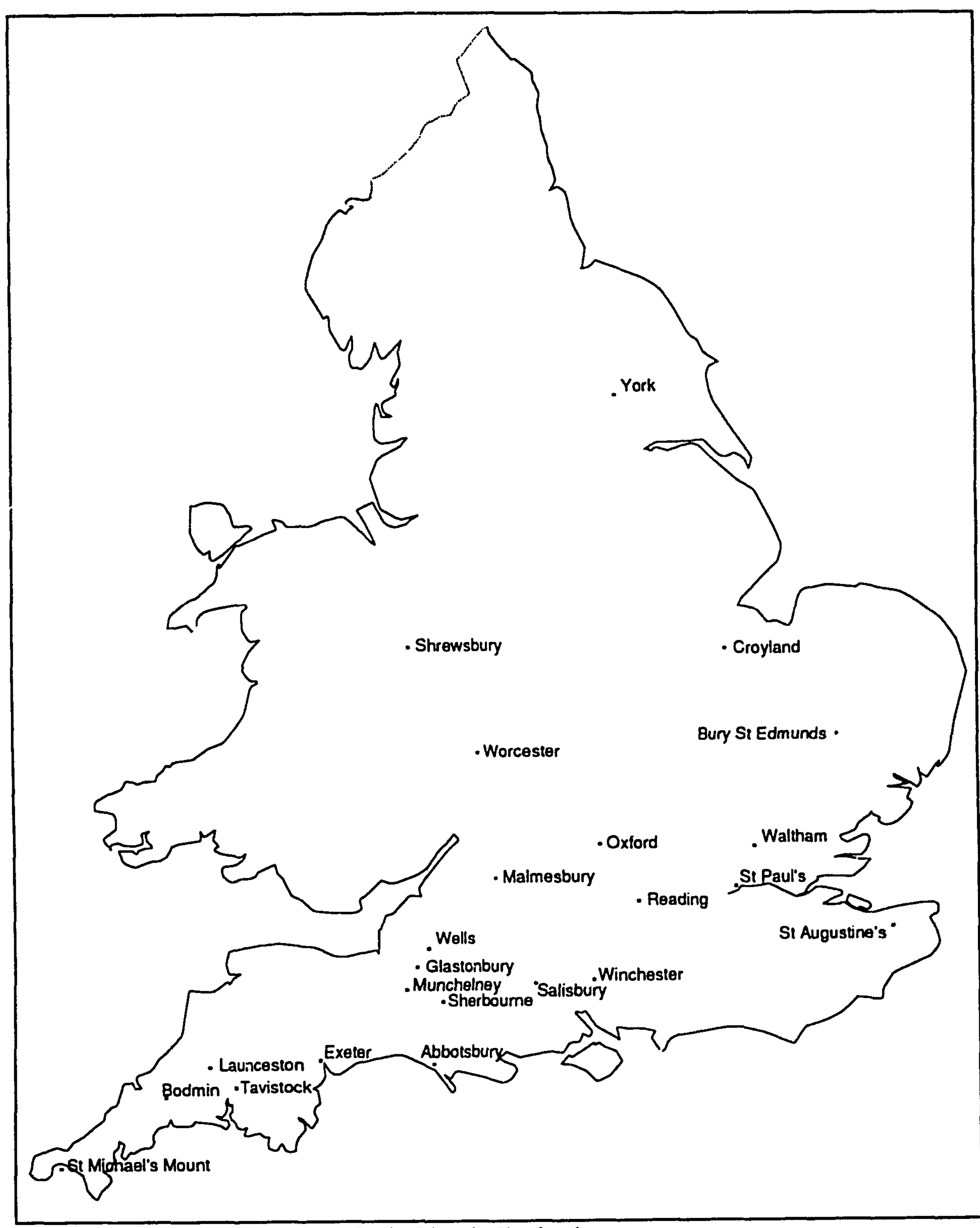
Map 4--Dedications to St Petroc in Cornwall



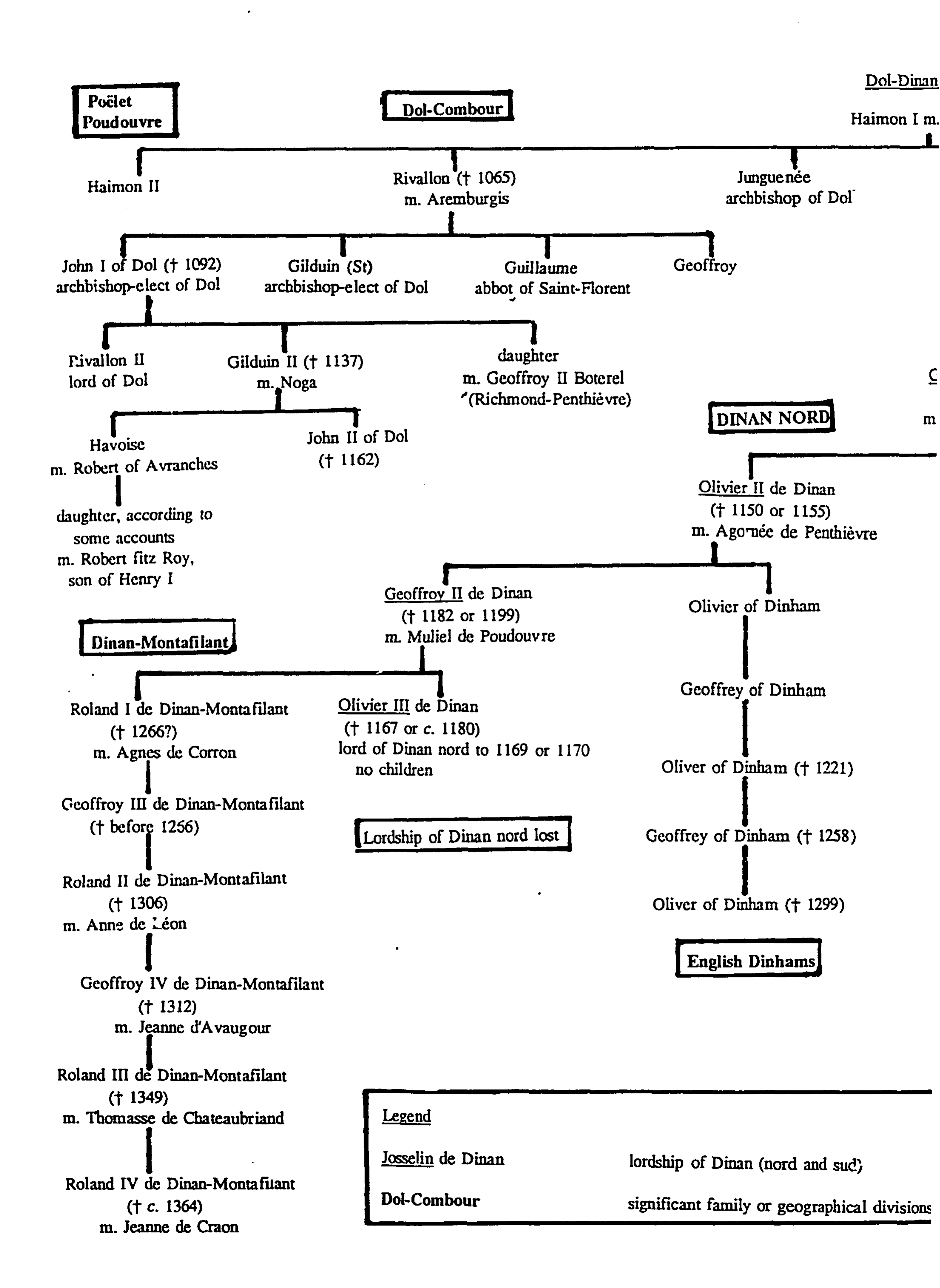
Map 5--St Petroc in Devonshire



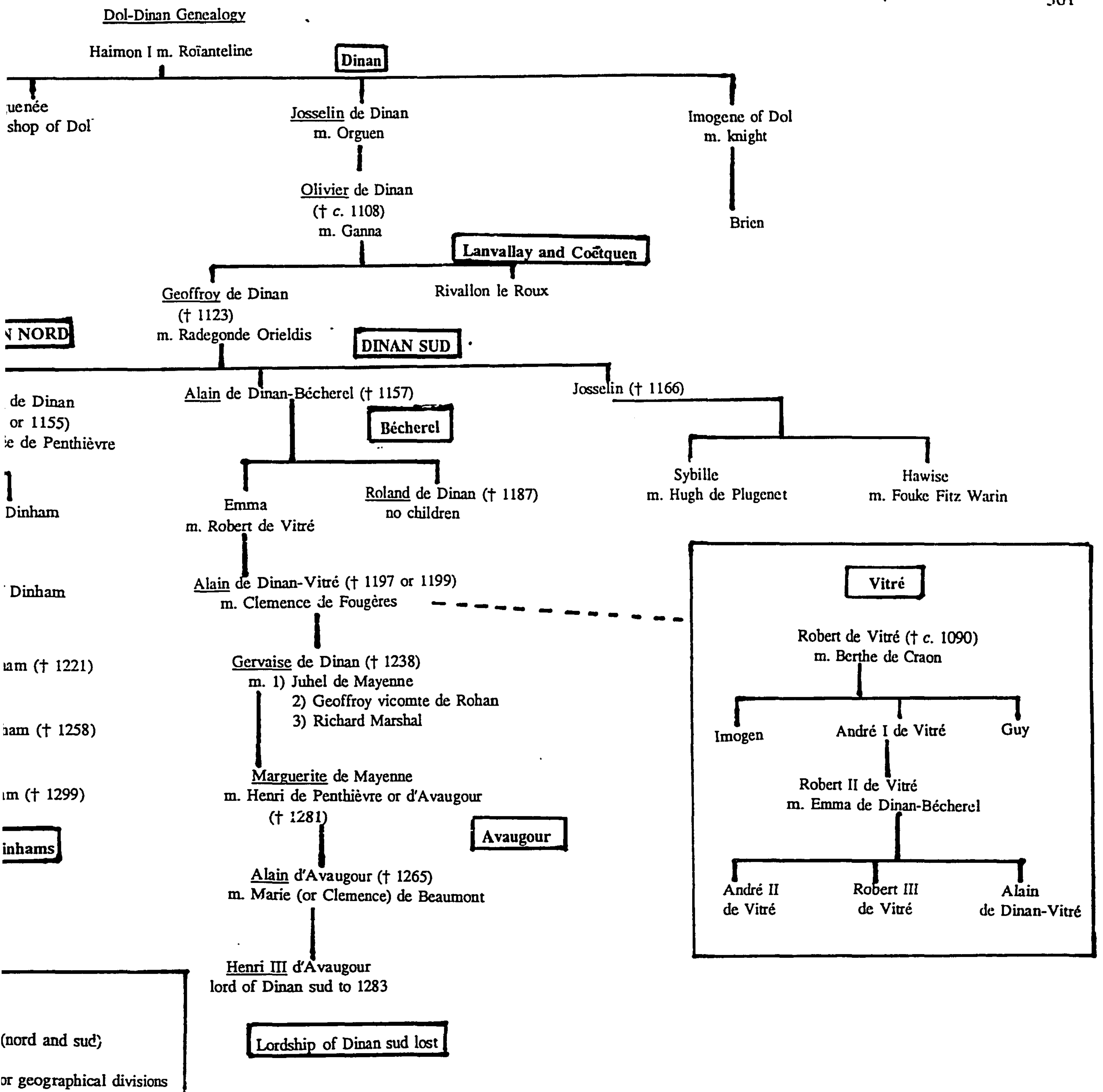
Map 6--North-Eastern Brittany



Map 7--St Petroc in Liturgy and Relic Lists in England



Poëlet Poudouvre
Dol-Combour
Dol-Dinan
Haimon I m.
Haimon II
Rivallon († 1065)
m. Aremburgis
Junguenée
archbishop of Dol
John I of Dol († 1092)
archbishop-elect of Dol
Gilduin (St)
archbishop-elect of Dol
Guillaume
abbot of Saint-Florent
Geoffroy
Rivallon II
lord of Dol
Gilduin II († 1137)
m. Noga
daughter
m. Geoffroy II Boterel
(Richmond-Penthièvre)
Havoise
m. Robert of Avranches
John II of Dol
(† 1162)
daughter, according to
some accounts
m. Robert fitz Roy,
son of Henry I
DINAN NORD
Olivier II de Dinan
(† 1150 or 1155)
m. Agonée de Penthièvre
Geoffroy II de Dinan
(† 1182 or 1199)
m. Muliel de Poudouvre
Olivier of Dinham
Dinan-Montafilant
Roland I de Dinan-Montafilant
(† 1266?)
m. Agnes de Corron
Olivier III de Dinan
(† 1167 or c. 1180)
lord of Dinan nord to 1169 or 1170
no children
Geoffrey of Dinham
Geoffroy III de Dinan-Montafilant
(† before 1256)
Lordship of Dinan nord lost
Oliver of Dinham († 1221)
Geoffrey of Dinham († 1258)
Roland II de Dinan-Montafilant
(† 1306)
m. Anne de Léon
Oliver of Dinham († 1299)
English Dinhams
Geoffroy IV de Dinan-Montafilant
(† 1312)
m. Jeanne d'Avaugour
Roland III de Dinan-Montafilant
(† 1349)
m. Thomasse de Chateaubriand
Roland IV de Dinan-Montafilant
(† c. 1364)
m. Jeanne de Craon
Legend
Josselin de Dinan
lordship of Dinan (nord and sud)
Dol-Combour
significant family or geographical divisions



Dol-Dinan Genealogy
Haimon I m. Roïanteline
Dinan
uenée
shop of Dol
Josselin de Dinan
m. Orguen
Imogene of Dol
m. knight
Brien
Olivier de Dinan
(† c. 1108)
m. Ganna
Lanvallay and Coëtquen
Rivallon le Roux
Geoffroy de Dinan
(† 1123)
m. Radegonde Orieldis
N NORD
DINAN SUD
Alain de Dinan-Bécherel († 1157)
Josselin († 1166)
de Dinan
or 1155)
e de Penthièvre
Bécherel
Sybille
m. Hugh de Plugenet
Hawise
m. Fouke Fitz Warin
Emma
m. Robert de Vitré
Roland de Dinan († 1187)
no children
Dinham
Dinham
Alain de Dinan-Vitré († 1197 or 1199)
m. Clemence de Fougères
Vitré
Robert de Vitré († c. 1090)
m. Berthe de Craon
Imogen
André I de Vitré
Guy
Robert II de Vitré
m. Emma de Dinan-Bécherel
André II
de Vitré
Robert III
de Vitré
Alain
de Dinan-Vitré
Gervaise de Dinan († 1238)
m. 1) Juhel de Mayenne
2) Geoffroy vicomte de Rohan
3) Richard Marshal
am († 1221)
am († 1258)
m († 1299)
Marguerite de Mayenne
m. Henri de Penthièvre or d'Avaugour
(† 1281)
Avaugour
inhams
Alain d'Avaugour († 1265)
m. Marie (or Clemence) de Beaumont
Henri III d'Avaugour
lord of Dinan sud to 1283
Lordship of Dinan sud lost
(nord and sud)
or geographical divisions

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